Safety on the Job *Ralph Nader & Jerome Gordon*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

June 15, 1968, 40 cents

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
JUN 11 1968
LIBRARY

The Kennedy Cause

The Editors

Why Rockefeller? — **Thruston Morton**

George Ball's World — **John Osborne**

Crime & Nixon — **Alexander M. Bickel**

Vietnam by Computer — **Zalin Grant**

Michigan Shenanigans — **James Ridgeway**

NEWSPAPER
05401
BURLINGTON VT
SRLS DEPT
GUY W BAILEY
UNIV OF VT
NR UVYSRLS
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B.

from Washington

Who's Guilty?

★ Americans love to grovel. Now they can have a fine time groveling about the killing of Bobby Kennedy. Think of all the fat little editorial writers sitting down at their typewriters, putting themselves in a properly melancholy mood and then dashing off an inspired article on "the shame of America." It is a "day of national humiliation," they will write.

It is, all right. An English journalist, Henry Fairlie, said it drily a couple of years ago: "There is an element of violence in American society which the outsider has to learn to comprehend . . . However much I may love and admire America, its gun laws come near to ruling it out of civilized society."

So now we can wallow in sorrow as we did when Harvey Oswald shot Jack Kennedy, and when Charles Whitman mowed down the crowd in Texas, and when the killer got Martin Luther King, and now Bobby. But do anything about it? – point out that the revolver is the virility symbol in the American subconscious, that its arcane temple is the ultra-respectable, three-and-a-half million dollar, nine-story National Rifle Association building in downtown Washington, and that its spokesmen are the frightened members of Congress? Certainly not; better froth at the mouth at the individual crank to whom we make deadly weapons accessible by mail or by purchase at the nearest hardware store. We can always restore our national self respect by dropping a few more cans of napalm on those little yellow Viet Cong commies.

The guilty party for Bobby's death is right there in Congress. Let's not duck the issue. Yes, you and I share the generalized guilt for the National Rifle Association, but the responsible party is Congress. Poll after poll shows the nation wants gun control laws. But our political institutions are not adequate to turn a widespread but not very passionate desire for reform into legislation against a lobby that can send a blizzard of a half a million protests into Congress at the touch of a button. The NRA has 850,000 sportsmen members who don't want to be inconvenienced by registering their rifles and shotguns. They live out in suburban areas and farms, mostly; what do they care about the murder rate in teeming cities where anybody can buy a gun? The NRA has $10 millions in assets and an annual income of more than $5 millions, two-thirds from dues and another 25 percent from arms manufacturers who advertise in its monthly magazine *The American Rifleman.*

One really has to look down from the press gallery at the 90th Congress to get a proper feeling of anger at the way the public's will is thwarted over firearms control. The crime bill started out as a fairly simple program from the executive and it was so passed by the House. Then senators got to work; they added sections to undercut Supreme Court decisions, and to permit every small-town detective to tap your telephone. It is such a mess now the President may veto it.

At one point, poignantly enough, Bobby Kennedy's brother, Edward, tried to insert in the Senate an amendment to include rifles and shotguns under federal regulation as well as revolvers. This young man whose brother was murdered as President and whose other brother would soon be gunned down in Los Angeles told the Senate, "We have it in our power to make this nation a little safer today and to keep guns out of the hands of those who should not have them – that 200 million Americans can sleep and walk and work and play with greater peace of mind."

Well, they *can't* sleep and walk and work and play with greater peace of mind. The Senate rejected his amendment, 29 to 53. The covert racist appeals of some of the NRA propaganda came out in the arguments: let's not disarm America when there are riots in the streets. A senator from a typical, sparsely settled western state, Bennett (R, Utah) told members darkly that "we must realize that control of the ownership of firearms carries with it the inherent future possibility of police-state controls." Furthermore, he said, there's an obligation on Congress "to protect the general public from those elements in society who perpetrate acts of violence against our citizenry." You know whom he means; yes, *those* people.

Undertow of Fright

★ We have said once or twice in this correspondence that we sense a conservative undertow: the Senate's attack on the Supreme Court, supported by Nixon; the overwhelming rejection of the progressive new state constitution by frightened voters in Maryland. And now in Texas the populist eastern areas that formerly voted for liberal Ralph Yarborough gave majorities this year to arch-conservative Preston Smith in the Democratic primary for governor. (We should certainly vote Republican this year if we lived there.) Finally, Republicans in California have apparently nominated educator Max Rafferty, one of the most objectionable of conservatives, to replace Tom Kuchel, one of the best liberals as senator. What a team that will be! B-star movie hero Reagan as governor, George Murphy, the hoofer, as one senator and Rafferty as the other. Maybe there aren't enough California Birchites to elect Rafferty, however.

Has anybody seen Hubert Humphrey lately? Who is he? *What* is he? We used to know him; he used to be a nice man. Now the liberals think he is a liberal and the conservatives a conservative. He is supported by the employers on one side and by the trade unions on the other; the Negroes think he is a friend and so do the Southern governors. How long can this go on? It looks more and more as though the Chicago convention would nominate the little man who isn't there.

And just to send you all home happy, you can rest secure in bed tonight, Everett McKinley Dirksen is writing the platform on which Richard Nixon will run.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 158 Number 25 Issue 2793 June 15, 1968*
Published weekly (except the last week in July, the second and fourth weeks in August and the last week in December) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 40c. Yearly subscription $10; Foreign $11; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1968 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

CONTENTS

COMMENT 3-8
The Kennedy Cause; Beyond Vietnam; Planning for Trouble; Poor People's Campaign; Moribund FCC
Crime, the Courts, and the Old Nixon – *Alexander M. Bickel* 8
Vietnam by Computer – *Zalin Grant* 11
Why Not Ban Paid Political Broadcasting? – *John Osborne* 13
Radio-Inactive Food – *David Sanford* 15
Michigan Shenanigans – *James Ridgeway* 17
Why I'm for Rockefeller – *Thruston Morton* 20
Safety on the Job – *Ralph Nader and Jerome Gordon* 23
Son of a Witch – *Stanley Kauffmann* 26
BOOKS – Reviews by *John Osborne, Clarence Brown, Donald M. Kaplan, Stanley Moss, Thomas Rogers, David T. Bazelon* 27
CORRESPONDENCE 40

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Literary Editor – Richard Gilman
Associate Literary Editor – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – James Ridgeway, David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone
Assistant to the Editors – F. R. Ruskin

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, John Osborne, Paul Wieck

S.E. Asia Correspondent – Zalin B. Grant

Publisher – Garth Hite
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
Production Manager – Anthony Perucci
Advertising Department – Holly Reppert

New York Advertising Representative – E. Laurence White Jr., Good-Laidley-White 50 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

Office of Literary Editor – 17 Charlton St., New York, N.Y. 10014

The Kennedy Cause

On the eve of California's primary, Cesar Chavez, at 41 perhaps the most unassuming public figure in the land, sat in a restaurant in East Los Angeles at the end of a long day of campaigning for Robert Kennedy. Chavez and a hundred or so of his "campesinos" had played a key role in organizing the Mexican-Americans for the primary, and early the next day, would pour into the precincts to bring out that huge voting bloc. They slept on cots in the social hall of an Episcopal Church in the Mexican-American section. By day, they campaigned – first to register voters, then to organize them. To Chavez, some of whose closest "Anglo" friends were backing Eugene McCarthy, the choice was clear. He used, in a printed statement, the Spanish term *hechos son amor* (deeds of love) to describe Robert Kennedy's role in their troubled lives, explaining it in these words: "In the midst of our struggle in Delano against tremendous odds to gain dignity and social justice, Senator Kennedy came to us and helped us. He came without asking anything of us; he came without expectation of any benefit to him." To Chavez, a gentleman of unswerving purpose, the thing that was important was that he came when few others did. For the "campesinos," the answer to the taunt "Where was Kennedy in November" was a simple: "In Delano."

It will never be asked again where Robert Kennedy was in November. But it might be forgotten, even by some whose loyalty never wavered, why Kennedy became a presidential candidate. He had been reluctant to risk the fight. He was torn between anguish over Vietnam and the misery of life for so many Americans, and his keen sense of the odds against his succeeding. Having decided that he could not remain out of it, that he could not by his neutrality seem to consent to the policies of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, he went at it hard. He was good-humored, decent to his rivals, but he fought. Now we weep for him and ourselves, as he could weep over one poor child. What that child and all our children will make of his passing is beyond comprehension. What does a generation that has watched the successive slaughter of good men become? What will children of the sixties make of their country?

The answers lie with the living, their will to overcome. For the campaign in which Robert Kennedy enlisted is not over, and not lost. It is a triumph Robert Kennedy shares with Eugene McCarthy that so many Americans rallied, refused to despair, took possession of themselves, and determined on change. Given a lead, the young

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

especially proved what politics as "the art of the impossible" can do. Senator Kennedy, along with Senator McCarthy, felt in his bones the imperative of political renewal, the need for a politics radically different from the old, one of hopeful enterprise. "What all these primaries . . . and all of the party caucuses have indicated," Mr. Kennedy said, is that "the people in the United States want a change. . . . The country wants to move in a different direction. We want to deal with our problems within our own country, and we want peace in Vietnam." Minutes before he was shot, he congratulated McCarthy "and those who have been associated with him in their efforts that they have started in New Hampshire and carried through to the primary here in the state of California." They and Robert Kennedy were "involved in this great effort . . . on the part of the United States, on behalf of our own people, on behalf of mankind all around the globe and the next generation." His differences with Eugene McCarthy were nothing compared to this common effort they had undertaken.

The young cheered. So did their fathers and grandfathers. What brought them all to take practical politics seriously this year was not any superficial preference for one face, one name, one party over another. They were brought to politics by near-desperation, and by the sight of new leaders who dared to challenge the old ways. Theirs has been a quest for government of finer perception, more compassionate concern, more discriminating in its priorities. The popular movement which Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy spotted and led was a movement of both revolt and resolve: revolt against physical and spiritual impoverishment, revolt against deepening enmities of race and class, revolt against needless massacre in Asia; and a resolve that something better than this is necessary and attainable. The Kennedy-McCarthy cause had no ideology; it springs from a fresher source, an earlier era of liberalism that was experimental, searching, that could confess failures and discern possibilities.

Possibilities, not vainglorious pretensions. George Kennan said last week that this country "has no choice but to prune its external involvements to the bone, to cure itself of all dreams of being more to others than it is to itself, and to readjust the objectives of its foreign policy to a realistic assessment of its own capabilities." That is not the prevailing view, but it was always implicit in the Kennedy-McCarthy cause.

So was their commitment to justice as the basis of order. Yet the national sense of shame did not prevent the first result of the assassination from being a betrayal of that commitment. The Senate Omnibus Crime Bill, attempting to overrule procedural decisions of the Supreme Court applicable in criminal cases, had been headed for a Senate-House conference, in which its more vindictive provisions might have been eliminated. But under pressure of the shooting, and for the additional reason, perhaps, that a (quite weak) gun control title is also included in the bill, the House on June 5 overwhelmingly voted down Chairman Celler of the House Judiciary Committee and sent the bill directly to the floor, where on June 6 it was passed as is. The House didn't care to be reminded that one of the earliest fights of Robert Kennedy's Senate career was against a similar drive to override similar – indeed one of the same – Supreme Court procedural decisions, and that Kennedy took care to record his opposition now, as this bill went to the Senate. He understood that crime cannot be "fought" by abandoning the decencies of American criminal procedure. The Crime bill that is now as good as enacted includes a wiretapping and eavesdropping title which is best described as vicious. Under the stress of the assassination, any chance to ameliorate this title has also been lost. Yet there could be no greater contrast than between this wiretapping title and the infinitely more measured and careful bills that Kennedy proposed as Attorney General in 1962.

No doubt, as Senator McCarthy has best expressed it, the Kennedy assassination should not be seen in isolation. The event tells us once more that we nurture in our society a disposition to violence. It is a brutal irony, however, that a movement to institute the iron control of a rigidly legalistic system, tolerating no demonstrations, no civil disobedience rooted in moral objections to the law, no unseemly displays of an intense passion for change – that such a movement should find impetus in Kennedy's death. The politics of Robert Kennedy were a response and an encouragement to precisely these turbulent but fruitful phenomena, which have nothing to do with his assassination. The talk about a climate of lawlessness which conduced to the killing of Kennedy, and the calls for a society of immaculate law and order are euphemistic calls for repression. They are a monstrous betrayal of the cause of Robert Kennedy, who sought to repel and contain violence by seeking and curing its causes.

So, the President appoints a commission to examine why violence is with us, as if we needed in this Vietnam era another study to tell us what we are and how we may redeem ourselves. *That* is a gesture of the old politics, a phony, discredited response to a national ailment that no public relations can heal.

Nothing waits on grief to wear itself out. The issues which brought Kennedy to California, and his death, remain. The campaign goes on. And those who have taken seriously the meaning of Kennedy's candidacy will not defect.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Beyond Vietnam

President Johnson may be about to give his grudging consent to one of the most absurd exchanges devised between Congress and the Executive. Congress will add to the income tax a 10 percent surcharge that will eventually bring in an extra $15 billion in federal revenues, if the President cuts $5 or $6 billion from his current budget spending – roughly three percent of the budget and .6 percent of the national output. The grizzling that has gone on over this relatively trifling sum has stalled the work of Congress for almost a year. Mr. Johnson was told that unless he cut spending by $6 billion, in a $186.1 billion budget, the ultimate consequences must include uncontrollable inflation and the destruction of the dollar.

If the rest of the world nowadays holds an ounce of gold to be worth more than $35, gold's former price, a large part of the reason is the steady outflow of dollars abroad arising from the country's spending of close to $30 billion a year on the Vietnam war. A world that once could not lay its hands on enough dollars to carry on international trade now has more of them than it knows what to do with. That is why the dollar has to be "defended."

Many people, including members of Congress, have been assuming that when the Vietnam war ends, the country will be free to reallocate its spending, switching from guns to butter and from the war in Vietnam to interrupted war on poverty at home. It now turns out this isn't necessarily so, according to budgetary experts including former Budget Director Charles L. Schultze. In their judgment, the $5 or $6 billion cut in non-military spending that Congress has demanded isn't just a final propitiating pinch of incense laid by the President on the altar of the Vietnam war before that war finally ends. The experts maintain that the end of the war will leave the budgetary shoe pinching as hard as before, because the rude intrusion of actual war on planning of future wars caused a great back-up of military demands for weapons and installations. This view, if tamely acceded to, will mean that the fancied imminent liberation of $30 billion a year after Vietnam is pure myth, like jam tomorrow and pie in the sky. The actual money is there, of course; only it is now claimed that the military, who have been spending it right along, have a prior claim to go on spending it – over the poor people, the Negroes, the slums, and even the taxpayer who, once the Vietnam war is over, may be relieved of the 10 percent tax surcharge.

It will not escape the attention of anyone endowed with memory that the claim of the military to the right to continue spending to the limit and beyond, Vietnam or no Vietnam, is further evidence of the prophetic insight of a famous military man. In his farewell address as President, Dwight D. Eisenhower warned against what he called "a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions" and said that "its grave implications" involved "our toil, resources and livelihood" and indeed "the very structure of our society." But even Eisenhower didn't and couldn't in 1960 fully appreciate the effrontery of what he was first to call "the military-industrial complex." When he laid down the cares of office and turned with visible relief to his memoirs and putter, his total budget was well under $80 billion and its defense component a mere $46 billion. President Johnson's defense spending is running over $80 billion this year, and Defense Secretary Clifford is currently facing demands by the military for spending that would make the new defense budget leap above the $100 billion mark. As one civilian in the Pentagon put it, "The day McNamara left office, the generals trotted out every expensive idea they'd ever had that McNamara didn't like." Mr. Clifford may not like them either, and a new Administration need not be bound by him, even if he does. Nevertheless a real danger exists that those who constitute Ike's threatening complex will try to hang on to the incredibly vast sums they have become accustomed to, at the expense of the dollar as well as the poor. Add the billions of dollars being currently chucked at the moon and the mysterious outer planets, and it is evident that even a nation with an annual gross product approaching $900 billion can't go on this way without bankrupting itself.

Mr. Schultze isn't himself pushing new weapons systems, and seemingly would offer a maximum post-Vietnam defense spending cut of about $15 billion. He urges the taxpayers to believe that Vietnam has been fought with the utmost frugality and economy so that "unlike Korea, we will not end . . . with a huge stock of unconsumed weaponry and ordnance." To the contrary, it will be necessary to "build up some depleted stockpiles and undertake some deferred construction," as well as probably financing the restoration of at least part of all that has been destroyed in Vietnam. He thinks a future tax cut will cancel out his assumed saving of $15 billion on defense after Vietnam. But not if the military have their way; they would simply transform Vietnam savings into new expenditures, for instance $5 billion for an anti-ballistic missile system (to start with) and $8 billion for a new bomber fleet.

What sense does any of this make? The United States is armed to the teeth. It has a considerable superiority in weapons over its nearest rival, Russia, with the others including China nowhere. When the Vietnam war finally ends, there's no reason why defense spending cannot be cut drastically. One estimate,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made inside the Pentagon by a civilian official, is that it could then be reduced as much as $40 billion, and that a post-Vietnam defense budget in excess of half the present spending would just be tribute exacted from taxpayers by the military-industrial complex.

Congress has got wind of this. The Senate came within three votes of lowering the boom on the proposed $5 billion ABM system, and it may do so still. But the fight will be tough, for the appetite of the complex has grown prodigiously from eating. It has a strong Fifth Column inside Congress, with over 990 arms plants and installations spread through 363 congressional districts. There are now about 22,000 prime defense contractors and 100,000 subcontractors who are dependent on continuing high military spending for their survival. There is an awesome lobby, composed of many hundreds of retired military officers employed by defense contractors to negotiate with their former services. At the time of Eisenhower's warning, there were 1,400 of these, including 261 ex-generals and admirals. Only the Pentagon knows how many of them there are now, and it does not make the figure available, though inquiring congressmen have failed to elicit just why this information has to be a secret. What's known is that ex-brass draw high pay, like $90,000 a year for former Air Force planner, Dr. I. A. Getting, as president of Aerospace Corporation.

Because those powerful military lobbies exist, Charles Schultze is right to say (though it is not the reason he gives for saying) that once the war is over there will be no painless transfer of massive defense money to domestic programs like the war on poverty. But his admittedly crude estimate of a post-Vietnam defense budget of $62 billion deserves to be proved far too high. If this country still needs to spend that huge sum each year, for its security and at the neglect of its poor, what on earth did it buy with the blood and the treasure it has been spending all these past years?

Planning for Trouble

The US Army may be training reservists in how to handle civil disorders (see page 17), but with the summer of 1968 nearly upon us we know of no city which is prepared to cope with riots. A report issued last week, *The Administration of Justice in Washington, D. C. During the Disorder of April 1968*, prepared by Ronald Goldfarb under the auspices of the Stern Family Fund, points out what the lacking of foresight can mean. In the nation's capital ". . . advance planning had been confined to discussion, making plans that were not operational by the time of the riot, or the drawing of isolated plans that did not really resolve the central problems. . . ."

In making an arrest, policemen on the streets had to fill out three forms containing 66 blanks, and had to sign their names 27 times to various forms. At that, records were a shambles, many defendants could not be identified later. Arrestees were lost, out of reach of family, friends, even attorneys; many were detained unnecessarily and under onerous conditions. Bondsmen would not take out arrestees they did not know; as a result those with a criminal record frequently could get bail where others could not. Over a thousand (of the 4,049) curfew violators were locked up overnight. Jails were overcrowded (one precinct station with eight single-bunk cells held 80-100 defendants for three days). There were no vans to transport arrestees from the streets to precincts to detention facilities to the court. Lawyers volunteered *en masse*, but many didn't know where the courthouse was or what to do when there.

Observers reported that a great percentage of the rioters in the District were juveniles. But out of 7,370 arrests, only 871 juveniles were apprehended (116 detained), and the Juvenile Court was closed during the peak of the riot. All looters were charged with Burglary II, although their offenses varied. The District police were criticized for failing to arrest all looters or brick-throwers, yet more people were arrested than in any other struck city. And while the riot seemed to have been better controlled than in other cities, 1,170 persons were injured, 8 were killed, property damage was estimated at $13 million, and over 15,000 troops were required to restore order.

Planning is important. Yet, clear as this message may be, it does not seem to have gotten across to the leaders in American communities. The special needs for food, medical care, public information, insurance coverage need to be faced, as well as gearing the administration of justice system to the extraordinary demands made upon it during mass disorder.

The Goldfarb report recommends special abbreviated arrest forms accompanied by Polaroid pictures of arrestees, so as to cut down delay and confusion in booking. With prosecutors, defense lawyers, bail officials and commissioners assigned to precincts, the arraignment process could be condensed and the full legal panoply of the courts reserved for more serious cases. Uses of summonses would allow quick and informal disposition of many of the minor cases. Sets of trained attorneys should be on alert to go to key places at the announcement of an emergency. Supplemental personnel need to be recruited: extra assistants for bail agencies, special DA's, commissioners. An information center should be designed and staffed to serve as a bridge between the community and officials and to provide information about people and events. Laws need to be reviewed to assure that emergency powers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are used properly (mass arrest procedures and the curfew are subject to legal attacks which could undercut the effectiveness of law enforcement).

All these vexing, disagreeable problems need to be grappled with now, not later, and contingency plans drawn up by the chief executives of cities, in collaboration with lower court judges, the organized bar and district attorneys.

Poor People's Campaign

Mr. Abernathy went ahead with the Poor People's Campaign after the murder of Martin Luther King, even though the Southern Christian Leadership Conference had little idea of what it wanted in the way of relief other than the slogan "jobs and income for all." Moreover, while the SCLC possessed some political base among southern rural blacks, it had no such base among American Indians, white Appalachians, Mexican Americans or blacks in the northern city ghettos, all of whom it wanted to include in the campaign.

From the onset, it was generally assumed that someone from without would come in and write up some political proposals, and for at least one day, produce masses of white liberals and the impression throughout the country that Mr. Abernathy had won something, when in fact he got next to nothing.

It was not at all surprising when Bayard Rustin, who organized the March on Washington in 1963, announced he had struck an agreement with Mr. Abernathy and would run a Solidarity Day march on June 19. Mr. Rustin put forward a set of modest specific proposals for the poor, demanding an increase in low-income housing, public works jobs, emergency food supplies, an easing of welfare restrictions and the right of farm workers to organize unions. This program is in line with that of the UAW and the more liberal unions within the AFL-CIO. The prospects for even these modest demands are bleak in Congress for the session is dragging to an end. But Rustin seems to have got union support for Solidarity Day, without which he would have difficulty in bringing off any sort of mass demonstration.

Rustin says he made the proposals in concert with Abernathy. A few days after they were published in the papers, however, Hosea Williams, who runs political action events at Resurrection City for the SCLC, denounced Rustin as just a "public relations" man, and said the poor could not accept these watered-down proposals. Shortly thereafter, Williams got into an argument about what sorts of demonstrations should be staged in Washington with Reies Tijerina, who leads the Mexican Americans. The Mexican Americans feel the blacks who control SCLC have slighted them, and they won't live in Resurrection City. They are camping out in a Washington school.

A Solidarity Day march may get Abernathy off the hook and permit the people in Resurrection City to make a graceful escape from Washington. Then the hard tasks will have to be taken up. The problems of the poor are the problems of the country as a whole and have less to do with income than with the lack of liberty. These people don't just want a bigger dole. Like many of the younger members of the middle class, they want control of the institutions which affect their lives: the Indians want to control the reservation; the Mexican Americans want land; the northern blacks want to design and build and run their neighborhoods. These demands can only be met by tedious work, building grass-roots political organizations.

Moribund FCC

It's a rare week when a critic from the press or the Hill or elsewhere, doesn't toss a brick at the new glass house inhabited by the tired old Federal Communications Commission. Last week was worse than most. On Wednesday, retiring Antitrust Chief Donald F. Turner blasted the FCC's indifference to the alarming increase in concentration of control over the nation's mass media. On Thursday, Chairman Philip Hart of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee sent a stern memorandum to FCC Chairman Rosel Hyde, detailing Commission failures to demand disclosure from conglomerate licensees of their outside economic interests, as required by law.

The heftiest missile, however, was launched from inside the FCC. On Friday, Commissioners Kenneth A. Cox and Nicholas Johnson completed a massive case-study of the FCC's license renewal process. Their 308-page report on broadcasting in the state of Oklahoma amounted to bureaucratic insurrection. This unusual document – which can be obtained by writing to the Commission's Public Information Office – exposes the malaise which has overcome so many federal regulatory agencies since New Dealers left the buraucracy for more profitable private law practice.

The occasion for the report was renewal-time, June 1, for broadcast licenses in the states of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska. Cox and Johnson report that the FCC's procedures for ensuring that local stations provide local service to their communities are a "sham." Of the ten commercial television stations in Oklahoma, which rake in more than $16 million in annual gross revenues, not one carries a single prime-time program "devoted to presentation, analysis, or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discussion of controversial issues of public importance in the state or in the community." Radio is worse, providing "almost literally no public affairs service at all other than news." Oklahoma City's Negro radio station relies almost entirely for its token "public affairs" offerings on paid syndications by right-wing propagandists like Charles Burpo, H. L. Hunt, and Billy James Hargis. (A surfeit of right-wing propaganda and military promotional material was in evidence on the formats of virtually all major radio stations in the state.)

Rather than diversity, the second basic objective of the 1934 Communications Act, the Commissioners found a "dangerous concentration of control over broadcast and other mass media." "There are," the report relates, "essentially two classes of purveyors of information and entertainment for the people of Oklahoma City, and for that matter, the entire state of Oklahoma. In the first class fall those which are owned and controlled by the Gaylord family. In the second class fall all the rest." Gaylord interests encompass Oklahoma City's morning and afternoon newspapers, widely circulated throughout the state, its leading television and AM radio stations, a farmer's monthly magazine with a circulation of over 500,000 in a tri-state area, and other important interests in Southwest broadcast and print media. Quite apart from the Gaylord "galaxy," the report reveals that, of the top 73 broadcasting firms in the state, four firms account for 88 percent of the income.

Cox and Johnson note that "technological and even political winds of change are beginning to whistle through the world of communications." They hint at the possibility of replacing the present system of local stations with direct satellite-to-home broadcasting, or with a nationwide cable delivery system, reminding broadcasters and their patrons at the Commission that new "television and radio systems could be fashioned which emphasize national and regional outlets." "Such notions are no doubt," they continue, "being considered by institutions which are undertaking comprehensive evaluations of the nation's communications systems." This remark appears to refer to the Budget Bureau, currently considering possible schemes for shaking up the present communications regulatory set-up, and the President's Task Force on Telecommunications Policy from which much is expected when its multi-volume report and recommendations appear in August. Taking account of the heady prospect of social engineering held out by the incipient revolution in communications technology, Cox and Johnson conclude: "If local service does not in fact play a significant role in the operation of the present system, traditional policies may be senseless, and they may in addition turn out to be surprisingly short of life."

Crime, the Courts, and the Old Nixon

We have never had hard, reliable crime statistics. As the President's Crime Commission made clear, too much crime goes unreported or is haphazardly classified. But all gross indications are that the crime rate is rising. The causes of crime are as vaguely understood as its incidence is roughly measured, but we confront an increasingly nasty situation, and we ought at least to be able to surmise enough about methods of effective control to try to arrest the trend. Many of our people, moreover, lumping common crime together with essentially unrelated infractions of the legal order, such as assorted manifestations of civil disobedience, and of course riots, show signs of advanced anxiety. The political problem of crime – political in no *pejorative sense – is, therefore, as real as the real one.* For no society will long remain open and attached to peaceable politics and the decent and controlled use of public force, if fear for personal safety is the ordinary experience of large numbers.

No wonder, then, that crime is an issue in this election year, that on May 8, in the week when the Senate began to debate an Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Bill, Richard Nixon addressed himself to the subject, and that he entitled his position paper, "Toward Freedom From Fear." But Mr. Nixon's approach, like that of the Senate Judiciary Committee and, finally, the Senate itself, is in large part misguided. The main emphasis is on demagogic appeal; crime is the communism issue of 1968. This is the extent to which, apparently, there is a new Nixon.

The way to cure crime, says Mr. Nixon, all crime, organized and random, violent, such as a mugging, and victimless, such as use of narcotics, is to convict more people, who by definition will be criminals. Thus we will reduce the profits of crime, and crime itself. All this we could do, but for a "barbed wire of legalisms" erected by the Supreme Court, which, Mr. Nixon added in Dallas just the other day, has given the "green light" to "the criminal elements." Mr. Nixon complains of the *Miranda* case, in which the Court held that the police must inform prisoners of their right to remain silent, and to have a lawyer (an assigned one, if they are indigent) present at any interrogation they choose to submit themselves to. If the warning is not administered, or if a lawyer has been requested but not made available in the course of interrogation, the Court held, no confession the police may have obtained will be admissible in evidence. The consequence has been, says Mr. Nixon, "to very nearly rule out the 'confes-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion' as an effective and major tool in prosecution and law enforcement." No more than one in eight "major crimes committed now results in arrest, prosecution, conviction and punishment," he continues. "Among the contributing factors" are such cases as *Miranda*.

It is necessary to monitor Mr. Nixon carefully, as carefully as ever, especially when he deals in numbers. One has but to glance at the report made to the President's Crime Commission by a Task Force on Crime and its Impact to realize that the one-in-eight figure is largely a guess, and that it aggregates, and thus hides immense relevant variations between such crimes as homicides at one extreme and car thefts at the other. Mr. Nixon's figure is a goulash of rates of "arrest, prosecution, conviction and punishment." Obviously, rules governing the admissibility of confessions at trials can have little effect on the rate of arrests. And yet just here is where the bulge in Mr. Nixon's gross figure is located. "The greatest difficulty," says the Task Force report mentioned above, "lies in catching the offender in the first instance." The next bulge occurs in the rate of prosecutions. The decision whether or not to prosecute, once an arrest has been made, will be based on a great many considerations, only one of which is the availability or lack of evidence. And a confession is only one item of evidence. When no confession is obtained, and there is no other proof of guilt either, it may just be, after all, that the person the police arrested was innocent. In that event, the failure to prosecute and convict ought to be deemed tolerable. When a confession is made, it may not be the sole item of evidence. Miranda of the *Miranda* case himself, whose confession, the Supreme Court held, was unlawfully obtained and whose conviction the Court reversed, was subsequently retried and convicted on other evidence. This circumstance alone suggests that failure to extract a confession is not always fatal. When it comes to rates of conviction, there is no bulge. These are high. And "the overwhelming majority of cases," the President's Crime Commission reported, "are disposed of by pleas of guilty." A few systematic (although not comprehensive) studies made subsequent to the decision of *Miranda* indicate that the overwhelming majority of cases continue to be so disposed of. Either the new rules do not significantly increase the difficulty of obtaining confessions, or confessions are not all that significant. What kind of a "contributing factor," then, is the *Miranda* decision, and to what?

Mr. Nixon objects also to the other decisions of the Supreme Court, rendered a year ago in the *Wade* and *Gilbert* cases, which "ruled that in a line-up confrontation between witness and accused, the absence of a lawyer for the accused could, of itself, render the identification inadmissible in court." Mr. Nixon thinks this holding is ill-advised, but what troubles him most is that "*Wade* and *Gilbert* were carried to an almost ridiculous, if logical, extreme in *U.S.* versus *Beasley*." This case, we are told, concerned an assault and robbery on the streets of Washington, D. C. Three men were fleeing the scene as police approached, and the police gave chase and caught one. They returned to see about the victim, who then and there identified the prisoner as one of his assailants. Yet the identification was held inadmissible in evidence, says Mr. Nixon, "because of the absence of a lawyer." Mr. Nixon nowhere says that this outrage, as he views it, which he calls an "extension" of the *Wade* and *Gilbert* cases, is another of the unfortunate products of the Supreme Court; indeed, a close reading will yield appropriate clues that it is not. But this section of Mr. Nixon's paper on "Toward Freedom from Fear" concludes, three short paragraphs after the detailed description of the *Beasley* case, with the assertion that "[t]hese decisions by a majority of one of the Supreme Court have had a far-reaching impact," and with the statement of "a need for future Presidents to include in their appointments to the United States Supreme Court men who are thoroughly experienced and versed in the criminal laws of the land." Responsibility for the "ridiculous" *Beasley* case is thus at least imputed to the Supreme Court.

Now the *Beasley* case is no Supreme Court decision. Whether or not it carries the *Wade* and *Gilbert* cases to a ridiculous, if logical, or illogical, extreme is difficult to say; it is not very important to know. The case was tried in the District of Columbia early in March. There was a conviction, and a three-year sentence was imposed and suspended, presumably because Beasley may have been a first offender. When stated precisely rather than insinuatingly, just what does the *Beasley* episode go to show? It does not even aptly support the incidental recommendation which Mr. Nixon hangs on it that the government as well as defendants be allowed a full right of appeal in criminal cases. *Beasley* is an obscure, unreported case, and, it turns out, a successful prosecution at that. Mr. Nixon has a long reach in search of grist for the innuendo mill.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets bill passed by Congress attempts to overrule the *Miranda* and *Wade* and *Gilbert* decisions as applied in federal criminal trials, and Mr. Nixon's position paper urged Congress on. (It is impossible to make out whether Mr. Nixon also favors provisions trying to deprive the Supreme Court of appellate jurisdiction over certain state criminal cases, and suspending the writ of habeas corpus for state prisoners. These the Senate voted down.) Congress, the President and the Supreme Court are all sworn to support the Constitution. We gener-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ally let the Supreme Court have the last word, but it does not follow that Congress is disqualified or somehow forbidden to express by statute a strong conviction about the meaning and applicability of the Constitution contrary to that of the Supreme Court. The Court will prevail in the end if it holds again what it held before, but in general, a congressional endeavor to change the Court's mind, or if you will, to bring pressure to bear on the Court, has its proper uses in our complex and paradoxical system. The trouble with the Senate's endeavor, which Mr. Nixon approves, is not that it jumps the constitutional track, but that it is wrong-headed to the point of mindlessness.

Miranda propounds a fair and just rule, aimed at ensuring that confessions are made freely and voluntarily, if at all. There is no disagreement about the objective. If the Court's specific rules seemed to the Senate unworkable in some circumstances – *e.g.*, an admission blurted out to a cop on the street, at the moment of arrest – the Senate could have said so, and been sure that its views would have been accorded due weight. And if the Senate had thought that there were better ways to attain the agreed objective than those prescribed by the Court, it could also have said so. "It is impossible for us to foresee," Chief Justice Warren took care to remark in the *Miranda* opinion, "the potential alternatives . . . which might be devised by Congress or the states in the exercise of their creative rule-making capacities. . . . We encourage Congress and the states to continue their laudable search for increasingly effective ways of protecting the rights of the individual while promoting efficient enforcement of our criminal laws." Suppose Congress had provided that all station-house interrogation, following certain warnings but in the absence of a lawyer, be recorded on TV tape, which could then be viewed by the trial judge? To have said that confessions made in the course of a taped interrogation and found to have been voluntary should be admitted in evidence would have been a very different matter from simply attempting to overrule *Miranda*.

The TV-tape idea, or something similar, would have been an even more suitable response to the *Wade* and *Gilbert* decisions. Eye-witness identification is notoriously subject to error. Line-ups can minimize the possibility of error and a consequent miscarriage of justice, or they can virtually invite error. The Court in the *Wade* case quotes the following examples from a text on eye-witness identification:

> In a Canadian case . . . the defendant had been picked out of a line-up of six men, of which he was the only Oriental. In other states, a black-haired suspect was placed in a group of light-haired persons, tall suspects have been made to stand with short non-suspects, and, in a case where the perpetrator of the crime was known to be a youth, a suspect under twenty was placed in a line-up with five other persons, all of whom were forty or over.

The Court proceeds also to cite similar instances out of numerous state cases. In the *Wade* case itself, the identifying witness saw Wade standing alone near an FBI agent before the rest of the members of the line-up appeared, and in a companion case, the suspect was shown to the witness all by himself, handcuffed to a police officer.

The Court was urged to outlaw the line-up altogether, as a violation of the Fifth Amendment, but it did not. It held merely that a lawyer should be present, to guard against abuses, particularly since later "the defense can seldom reconstruct the manner and mode of line-up identification for judge or jury at trial." Instead of petulantly overruling a decision which seems almost self-evidently right, Congress and Mr. Nixon might do better to make available the means to reconstruct the manner and mode of the line-up for judge and jury. TV tape would be such a means.

Even if the Supreme Court's decisions were less defensible on their merits than they are, and even if it could be shown that they are reflected in a decreasing rate of prosecutions and convictions – which cannot be shown – it would remain an irresponsible and dangerous tactic to try to convince the American people that the crime problem that understandably worries them is aggravated by current judicial decisions and could be alleviated by different ones. "Court rules do not cause crime," Attorney General Clark, whom Mr. Nixon chooses to belabor (the Acheson of 1968?), told a Senate committee a few years ago. "People do not commit crimes because of decisions restricting police questions or because they think they might not be convicted." Mr. Nixon, who thinks that the role of poverty as a cause of crime has been grossly exaggerated, to the point of myth, and that poverty cannot begin to explain the explosion of crime in America because the crime rate has risen faster than the Gross National Product [sic, so help me!], looks upon crime from the viewpoint of the most simple-minded classical economist. If crime is made more expensive, there will be less of it. This proposition, whatever its truth, can be relevant to the cases Mr. Nixon is attacking only if we assume that the prospective criminal knows about procedural decisions, and feels certain of their effect on the rate of detection, prosecution and conviction. But, of course, over a large area of crime, the entire proposition is demonstrably false.

What is demonstrably true is that we need to invest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

far greater resources than we have in systematic attempts to understand crime, and in the improvement and modernization of methods of prevention and detection. Title I of the Omnibus Crime bill makes a beginning in this direction, and Mr. Nixon's position paper, quite commendably, bestows approval and offers encouragement, although no new ideas. But this is not where he lets his emphasis fall. The stress is all on the Supreme Court – in 1954 it was headed by a great Republican Chief Justice, said Mr. Nixon then, but not a word about that now – on scare statistics with a political slant, and on wiretapping, which is put forward as a sovereign remedy for organized crime, although the Omnibus Bill that Mr. Nixon again specifically endorses on this score would allow the states to tap in cases involving just about any felony at all, no matter how disorganized.

"The gentleman," said the legendary Speaker Reed of someone now mercifully forgotten, "never rises without substracting from the sum of human knowledge." That is too harsh a judgment to apply to Richard Nixon. But he has not yet learned how to attain a level of discourse suitable to the politics of the American Presidency.

ALEXANDER M. BICKEL

Vietnam by Computer

Counting on Strength That's Not There

Saigon

The military war has become so fierce that a few weeks ago when the North Vietnamese launched a division-size attack near the Demilitarized Zone, it was largely ignored by the press. Street fighting in Saigon's suburbs is as common as a change of movies at the local theaters. The curious can visit the battle area by taxi as the fighting rages, then return to lunch or cocktails at one of the city's French restaurants. With the flurry of fighting in the cities and country in the first half of this year, there has been little talk of the "other war" – pacification or political control of the rural areas, where 60 percent of South Vietnam's population lives. But if a settlement of this war is negotiated at Paris, it must be done on the basis of who exerts the most political influence in the countryside, not who is winning on the battlefield.

In purely battlefield terms, the US may be in a tenuous superior position, as Westmoreland claims. Intelligence reports indicate the enemy has taken nearly 100,000 casualties so far this year, more than twice the number of last year. Even if the body-count figures are exaggerated, as they frequently are, Hanoi has nonetheless suffered severe losses. Ho Chi Minh has infiltrated men and supplies at a record rate since the bombing pause in order to rebalance his military positions. Still, with Hanoi's ability to choose the time and terms for battle, it is unlikely either side will ultimately be able to claim anything more than a stalemate.

Pacification – the great undefinable cliché – plays a more important role in evaluating the present US position of strength than simple military might. "It's not the ultimate goal just to defeat North Vietnamese forces," says a top US general, "not to just have our troops dominating the significant parts of the country. Our goal is to rid the country of Viet Cong-North Vietnamese influence, so therefore pacification is the most important factor in determining our present position of strength."

The US has never come close to winning the hearts and minds of the South Vietnamese. The dismal string of pacification programs all have the same frazzled look, like lost battles – from the Strategic Hamlet program in 1962 to Rural Life in 1963 to Pacification in 1964 to Rural Construction in 1965 and, finally, Revolutionary Development, our current term. Revolutionary Development can't even be translated into the Vietnamese language. One part of the problem has been the military necessity – at least under Westmoreland's strategy – of destroying large parts of the countryside before pacification begins. Many marines, frustrated by pacification jobs that have been thrust on them after they have wiped out villages, simply repeat the jingle: *Grab 'em by the balls / Their hearts and minds will follow.*

I recall the 1st Air Cavalry Division's initial attempts at pacification in October 1966. Charlie Mohr of the *New York Times* and I joined Charlie Company (5/7) of the Air Cav on Operation Irving, which was supposed to clear the enemy out of the rice-rich coastal plains so pacification could begin. Wading through monsoon-flooded rice paddies, Air Cav soldiers methodically combed the coastal plains around Bong Son, burning down hamlets, rocketing others with helicopter gunships. In one small thatched hamlet, called An My, Air Cav soldiers found a ragged group of wrinkled old peasants, men and women, their eyes swollen with tears and fear. The hamlet's young men had either joined the Viet Cong or fled for their lives lest they be mistakenly killed as Viet Cong by the Americans. "We will never pacify this area," one offi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cer told me as he ordered his men to burn down several palm-frond homes. "We must make it so miserable for them that they will kick out the VC."

The officer was right. The Air Cav, the division thought by the Pentagon to be the best suited for the Vietnam War, was unable to pacify the area. Neither were they able to make it so miserable for the peasants that they kicked the VC out. After a year of concentrated pacification operations on the Bong Son plains, the Air Cav was pulled out last October and was later assigned to help the marines at Khe Sanh. The coastal plains still remain under effective Viet Cong control. Pacification techniques have not been changed. A US general, one of Westmoreland's most articulate defenders of search-and-destroy operations, told me recently: "I don't know how in hell, when an area is loaded with Viet Cong the way the Bong Son plain was, you can go to the problem without first combing the enemy out of the villages and the population. When you've done that, as contradictory as it may seem, you've got to be man enough to show your face back in the destroyed village and say, 'By God, I'm going to help you restore what you've lost and I'm going to feed you." And then you have to try to convince them that not only do you have the power to get the enemy out of the village but you've got the heart to help the peasant get back on his feet."

It was with a great deal of hoopla that President Johnson made his big pitch for pacification at the Honolulu conference in February 1966. Until then, the US pacification effort had been run by 700 AID officials, who had made little progress. To alter the tone and emphasis of the war – in words not deeds – the White House even ordered the code names of military operations changed. US units here gave their search-and-destroy operations – that, too, was changed recently to "reconnaissance in force" – aggressive code names like Operation Shiny Bayonet, Matador or Crimp. When the Honolulu pacification conference was scheduled, the Pentagon abruptly ordered the Air Cav's Operation Masher changed to White Wing. Since then operational code names have remained singularly uninspiring, like Operation Scotland at Khe Sanh or the more recent Operation Delaware in the Ashau Valley.

At Honolulu, President Johnson gave Henry Cabot Lodge's deputy ambassador, William Porter, the job of directing the "other war," as Johnson coined it. Robert Komer, a Middle East specialist on the White House staff, was assigned a month later to coordinate pacification efforts from the Washington end. Komer quickly became the key figure. "Up to that time I had had no experience in the Far East whatsoever," Komer, 46, recalls. "I guess they thought I could pull the thing together." Komer joined the Central Intelligence Agency after graduating from Harvard Business School, then served JFK as a "new frontiersman, third class," and later President Johnson. "I was in the ivory tower business in the agency," he says, "concerned with national estimates and reports. I didn't have anything to do with pacification or paramilitary activities or clandestine intelligence." As McGeorge Bundy's deputy on the White House staff, his interest in Vietnam came no closer than his staff studies on Indonesia.

In summer 1966, Komer made an inspection trip to Vietnam, where he showed up at an embassy cocktail party in army fatigues. A high-charged administrator, called the "Blowtorch" in Washington, he quickly established himself as brash and heavy handed, dismissing the pessimism of seasoned US officials in Saigon with, "you don't think big enough." In September 1966, Komer released a White Paper on the progress of pacification. It was so unrealistically optimistic that embarrassed officials here called reporters in to contradict the report.

Despite Komer's public optimism, there was disenchantment deep in the White House. Several weeks after Komer's report was released, Deputy Ambassador Bill Porter quietly slipped out of Saigon for Washington to explain what was wrong with pacification. Then in October 1966, President Johnson met with Vietnamese leaders in Manila. If the Honolulu conference eight months before had been a pep rally for pacification, the Manila conference was supposed to be a calm look at its shortcomings, although the disastrous impact of Westmoreland's search-and-destroy operations was apparently given little consideration. The 59-man Revolutionary Development teams, announced at Honolulu as the key to pacification, were not working out as well as expected. The problem was security. President Johnson pressed Vietnamese leaders to use the bulk of their troops in pacification, to provide security for Rev Dev teams and clear and hold areas after US search-and-destroy operations had done their job of killing the enemy. The US pacification program was also suffering badly from administrative problems. Deputy Ambassador Porter was told to bring all civilian agencies engaged in pacification under one central agency, called the Office of Civilian Operations.

By the Guam conference a few months later in March 1967, South Vietnam had 53 of its 145 battalions engaged in pacification. But results were imperceptible. The US search-and-destroy missions continued. Each battalion of the Air Cav – as well as other US units – fired 1,500 rounds of artillery nightly on the countryside, pocking the peasants' precious rice paddies. There were no particular targets. The nightly firing was called harassment and interdiction. At Guam, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker and Deputy Am-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bassador Eugene Locke – an undistinguished Texas friend of Johnson – were introduced to South Vietnamese leaders as the replacements for Lodge, who was tired of the war, and Porter, who was glad to leave before he became the scapegoat for the failure of pacification. Instead of placing the new deputy ambassador, Eugene Locke, in charge of pacification as Porter had been, President Johnson gave Robert Komer ambassadorial rank and placed him in Saigon as Westmoreland's deputy for pacification, a historically unprecedented move. Never before had a full ambassador been commanded to serve a general.

Komer's four trips to Vietnam during the year he served as the White House staffer for pacification had earned him little respect and few friends. When Ambassador Lodge returned from Guam, he privately told reporters: "Komer is going to irritate the Vietnamese and he's going to rub the military wrong." It was probably Lodge's most accurate prediction of the war. Komer's first job was to organize the pacification program, bringing together for the first time the concerned military and civilian agencies under the Coordinating Office for Revolutionary Support. Komer called his first move Operation Take-Off; the military behind his back called it Operation Take-Over.

In the war-jaundiced eyes of veterans here, Komer remains an enigma. To his critics, he symbolizes our failure in Vietnam. He is, they say, a man of brilliance and energy, a highly skilled technician, but lacking the sensitivity to deal with the complex problems of winning the loyalty of the South Vietnamese. He is an executive in a bow-tie, a pipe-smoker who admits: "I am by nature a very impatient man." For all the criticism, he has done a good job at administratively organizing the pacification program. "I guess I'm really a manager," he told me recently. "I'm trying to manage a great big subsidiary corporation."

Like a corporation president, Komer has instituted a computerized system to measure rural security, called the hamlet evaluation system. US pacification advisers are required to fill out monthly questionnaires ("Are the children in the hamlet friendly? Does the hamlet chief sleep in the hamlet?") on the state of South Vietnam's 12,762 hamlets, where at least 60 percent of the population lives.

Gerald Hickey, 42, the Rand Corporation's staff social anthropologist, who speaks Vietnamese, has spent six years in Vietnam and is the author of the most definitive book on the Vietnam village and its social structure, is one of the many critics of Komer's brand of corporation pacification. "If you have a pacification program, you obviously want it well managed, but that shouldn't become the all-pervading end," says Hickey. "The US pacification program is largely monolithic. It is not attuned to the variations in the society and thus has not been effective." As for the hamlet evaluation system, says Hickey, "You just can't set up a set of indicators that are applicable to the whole of Vietnam society."

In reply, Komer says: "We designed the system to measure objective phenomena, not hearts and minds. We tell these guys to measure what they can measure. They do know when a mortar shell is fired into a hamlet, whether a school or well is built."

The Simulmatics Corporation, a New York based research organization, completed an independent study of Komer's computer system just days before the Tet offensive. "We concluded the system is good but the input and judgment on the American side are bad," says a Simulmatics official. The research corporation recommended that US advisers filling out the questionnaires learn Vietnamese, and those interpreting the reports learn something about Vietnamese society.

In private, Komer candidly admits to failures. "It is barely inching forward," he says. But it is unlikely that these failures are reflected in the neat charts and graphs found in the walnut-paneled situation room in the White House basement. There President Johnson and his advisers are plotting diplomatic strategy for Paris based on US strengths and weaknesses in Vietnam. It could be that, using the statistics churned out by Komer's computer, the President is trying to negotiate from an unrealistic assessment of the US position here.

ZALIN GRANT

Why Not Ban Paid Political Broadcasting?

During a CBS television interview on the night of the Indiana primary, a reference to charges that he had been "trying to buy the election" annoyed the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy. He said that his Indiana costs had run to $500,000 or $600,000, "in general line with the other campaigns," and then addressed himself to Walter Cronkite, who was conducting the exercise. Condensed here for clarity, the following exchange occurred.

"Where the expenditures go," Kennedy said, "is for television. We would all cut down 80 percent of our expenditures if television wasn't so expensive. If television would make all of this time available to us, as a public service, then there wouldn't be any great expense in a political campaign. At least to make it available at cost would seem to me a major step by the television networks and the television stations, instead of making a profit from a political campaign. I think that they should make the time available for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

free. But if they're not willing to do that, at least make it [available] for cost."

Cronkite: "Senator Kennedy, we're going to have to ask for equal time on our own air if you continue at this pace."

It was just a slip, that remark about "our own air." But it was a revealing slip. Broadcasters think of the air they use as their air, although they usually are careful not to speak of it in that way. The Federal Communications Act says in effect that the air they use is the people's. The networks, the 653 commercial television stations and the 6,525 radio stations now using the people's air have no property rights whatever in or to it. The stations are licensed to use it for three years, at the end of which the license of each station is subject to renewal or cancellation by the Federal Communications Commission, and the basic ground for renewal or cancellation is supposed to be whether the station has been operated with reasonable regard for the public interest. The networks are not licensed. They are not subject to direct control by the FCC or by any other public agency. In the trade jargon, the FCC "reaches" the three major networks (NBC, CBS, ABC) only in their capacities as owners of television and radio stations. This may be enough for practical purposes, since all of the stations owned and served by the networks are subject to direct regulation. But the fact remains: *as networks*, the most potent users of the people's air are legally free to tell the federal agency responsible for regulating the use of it to take a running jump into that air.

It is ironic but irrelevant that Senator Kennedy should have been the candidate who raised the issue of TV-radio's role in campaign politics. Money, for bought air time and other purposes, was not something he was short of. But the irony became tragic when four weeks later in California, a fatally wounded Kennedy received under the most terrible circumstances, hours and hours of unpaid broadcast time.

The problem is usually stated in terms of the advantages that the high costs of paid air time give candidates who are rich in their own right or have plenty of wealthy supporters. But money is involved only incidentally in the fundamental question, which is whether access to the people's air should be for sale for political campaign purposes. It should not be. The owners of television and radio stations should be forbidden to sell air time to candidates for public office and their supporters, and political candidates and their supporters should be forbidden to buy air time. By the same token, the owners of television and radio stations should be required to make free time available to political candidates, in amounts and in formats which meet the real needs of candidates for office – needs which are not necessarily identical with what candidates want and think they need.

This will be denounced as a simpleton's approach to a complex problem. It will be attacked on two kinds of grounds, practical and constitutional. I am told by competent authorities that the constitutional bar *may* be decisive: If you forbid candidates and their supporters to buy air time, you deny them one means of public and legitimate speech. If you forbid the owners of television and radio stations to sell air time to candidates and their supporters, you have the same effect upon the candidates and you may impair a protected freedom of the electronic "press." But that will not be known to be true until and unless the point is tested in the courts, which it has not been. The Department of Justice advised Congress last year, in connection with President Johnson's proposal to pay the television, radio, and other advertising and promotional costs of presidential candidates with appropriated funds, that it would be constitutional to forbid the recipients of the public money to use private money for the same purposes. Senator John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, chairman of the key Senate subcommittee dealing with TV-radio, has suggested that the amounts spent by and for candidates for air time be limited by law. Both the prohibition of private expenditure recommended by the President and the Justice Department, and the limitation proposed by Senator Pastore, impair the same "right" that a total prohibition would impair. If the one is constitutional, the other probably would be.

Objections on practical grounds do not stand up. The plain and widely acknowledged fact is that the present situation is impractical and poisonously harmful to our democratic processes. Senator Kennedy, for whom money in itself was no problem, had said so explicitly on the Senate floor. With his proposals in 1966 and last year to provide up to $40 million and perhaps more for the major parties' presidential campaigns alone, President Johnson not only asserted the present impracticality and wrong but put a partial cost tag on them. An Administration witness, defending the 1967 proposal, estimated that the approximately $20 million to be set aside for each of the major-party presidential campaigns would cover about 65 percent of their costs. Most of the $20 million would go for TV-radio time. A student of money-in-politics, Dr. Herbert E. Alexander of the Citizens Research Foundation in Princeton, N.J., guesses that $250 million will be spent on this year's national, state and local campaigns and that $50 milion will go to TV-radio. In the non-presidential elections of 1966, candidates and their supporters spent $32 million for TV-radio exposure, up from $20 million in the comparable year of 1962 and only $2.6 million less than the total TV-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

radio expenditure in 1964 (when $12.8 million was spent for presidential and vice presidential air time).

Such totals merely suggest the dimensions of the political and moral problem. The congressional debates of 1966 and 1967 over various proposals (including one by Senator McCarthy) to pay presidential campaign costs with public funds demolished the last pretense that the big private contributions now necessary to pay the costs do not buy and are not intended, in many instances, to buy influence with the benefited candidates. Scores of senators and representatives, some of them no doubt dazzled by the prospect of public instead of private boodle, not only confessed but asserted that campaign money does buy influence – period. A common estimate is that 75 to 80 percent of the costs of Senate races, and of House races in big districts, is for TV-radio time.

Given the pervasive influence of television and radio, particularly television, and the all but unanimous assumption of candidates for major office that they cannot win nowadays without TV-radio exposure, could our political process in fact survive a total prohibition of paid political air time even assuming that mandatory free time accompanied it? The democratic process thrives in Great Britain with total prohibition of paid air time. There both the public BBC and the thriving commercial TV stations are required by law to allot proportions of time to the major parties, based upon their representation in Parliament. The commercial stations are forbidden to sell, and the parties and candidates are forbidden to buy, additional time. It works. Granting the many differences between Britain and the United States, the experience suggests that it could be made to work here. Much remains to be said, pro and con. But consider, in this brief treatment, a further fact. The owners of our television and radio stations, licensed and in theory required to serve "the public interest, convenience and necessity," are under no statutory or regulatory requirement whatever to accord one minute of the people's air time to the political process which determines how and whether our system works. They may sell or refuse to sell, give or refuse to give, access to the people's air as they damn well please, subject only to "equal time" and related limitations which serve more often than not to deny the air to candidates for public office. What we have is an outrage.

JOHN OSBORNE

Radio-Inactive Food

by David Sanford

The United States Atomic Energy Commission would like to have the American consumer eating meats, fruits, vegetables and grains that have been exposed to gamma radiation: a process the AEC believes will eventually be as useful and prosaic as refrigeration in preserving food well beyond its natural edible life. The Food and Drug Administration – whose spokesmen are as reticent to speak about irradiation as enthusiasts at AEC are eager in its promotion – is attempting to stay the day when much of the food we eat will have first been exposed to doses of radiation sufficient, if turned accidentally on a man, to be lethal. There have been too many examples of harm from radiation – from radium watch dials, shoe store x-ray machines, dental x-rays and (potentially from) color TV sets carelessly unleashed on the public – for one not to be interested in the outcome of the struggle.

The first constituency of the AEC is the atomic energy establishment – uranium mining, the military and industry. Sundry announcements of advances in irradiation emanating from AEC have in common three points, all in the service of that constituency: 1 – Irradiation promises to be a huge profit maker for food and related industries, as well as a boon to the consumer; 2 – processing food by passing it through a radiation source is safe; 3 – progress is retarded by FDA's insistence that it approve every single potential use of radiation-treated food. FDA, it is suggested, is withholding profit from industry by depriving the public of a perfectly safe new way to keep foods fresh. The statement must be looked at skeptically.

FDA for its part has insisted that AEC, the Army, and the corporate enthusiasts of irradiated food have not made their case for safety, except in a few isolated instances. The burden of proof rests on those who would expose the public to these foods. FDA contends that although it has not been positively established that irradiated foods are unsafe, neither has it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been determined beyond doubt that they are in general without hazard. FDA has approved the irradiation process for white potatoes (it retards sprouting), for bacon (which will keep for many months without refrigeration) and for wheat (as a pesticide). Some 76 other nations now have research and development programs in food irradiation.

Radiation "pasteurization" – exposing food to low levels of nuclear radiation – is useful in keeping strawberries firm and mold free. Radiation "sterilization" – exposing food to higher levels of radiation, sufficient to kill bacteria – allows meat to be stored for months or even years without refrigeration. Potatoes can be kept from sprouting for at least 16 months. Wheat can be protected from costly insect damage by destroying eggs that pesticides don't affect. Unfortunately, radiation that will kill a bacterial cell will also destroy some food tissue cells. That may affect nutrition. And residual radiation in foods may be dangerous.

Applications for potatoes, bacon and wheat were accompanied by extensive data from animal experiments that at first assuaged FDA's qualms about safety. But it is conceivable that since varying amounts of radiation are used, the process may be safe for one commodity and not another. In April FDA approval was denied to ham because the Army (the petitioner) had in FDA's opinion not made a convincing case for safety. No irradiated food is currently on the market in the United States. The Army, however, has an extensive experimental program which involves feeding recruits irradiated foods at Fort Lee, Virginia. And the food processing industry is eager to get radiation-treated foods into the supermarkets.

The Thomas J. Lipton Company (see "Unfoods," *NR*, May 18) wanted to use radiation on vegetables that go into its dried soup mixes. The process, in Lipton's case, would act as a preservative and speed cooking time which Lipton feels would be commercially advantageous. Lipton officials found, however, that the texture of irradiated vegetables is not what it should be, and that radiation-treated vegetables have an offensive odor. The primary drawback, however, is that FDA would not permit Lipton to market the soups without undertaking animal testing Lipton estimates would cost $100,000., Lipton didn't want to do it, and hence withdrew its application to FDA.

An FDA spokesman informed about irradiated foods is wary of answering questions about the agency's position. FDA, he says somewhat cryptically, is the only interested party "without an ax to grind", its only concern is "health." He fends off questions about responsible opposition to irradiation, refuses to divulge FDA's complex reasoning in rejecting applications ("They simply didn't make their case"), and will not discuss industrial applications to FDA.

The outgoing FDA Commissioner, James Goddard, has been somewhat more forthright. In a speech last year to the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board and the Atomic Energy Commission in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Goddard cautioned restraint by the atomic energy people, who, he hoped somewhat rhetorically, shared his emphasis on safety over profit. His most direct statement was that "those who are deeply involved in food irradiation must answer the hard questions of vitamin and mineral preservation, of the effect upon harmful and useful microorganisms in food, of teratogenicity [malignancies] among animals – including man – and of sterilization of the reproductive process."

Does irradiation do something to the vitamins and minerals in food that would adversely affect nutrition? Does it kill microorganisms that might be beneficial as well as those that cause spoilage? Does ingesting irradiated food over a period of years increase the likelihood of cancer? Could eating irradiated foods make a man sterile? Dr. Goddard dealt only indirectly with these questions; he merely raised the warning flag. But each time FDA rejects an application for irradiated foods it is saying, in effect, that it has not been established that these *are not* bona fide dangers. And until such dangers can be ruled out, applications will be denied. FDA has authority under the food additives amendment (1958) to the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act to refuse approval of any irradiated food where it has not been clearly established that the "expected advantages" of the process outweigh the disadvantages. A food must present "no known hazard to health." But Goddard is also concerned about the quality of life: "If we are to choose between irradiated foods and, for example, nonirradiated frozen or canned foods, we will, as consumers as well as regulators, choose what is better – better scientifically and, if possible, aesthetically as well."

Even the AEC admits that radiation creates some problems: "The first long-term feeding studies seemed to produce some abnormalities in experimental animals." But AEC believes that they resulted from poor experimental procedures (*e.g.* feeding rats nothing but oranges, or keeping dogs locked in isolated cages). "A few have not been completely explained, so research continues." As for aesthetics, AEC contends that early problems with color, taste, and odor have for the most part been solved or substantially reduced "by irradiation at very low temperatures, application of adsorbents as odor scavengers, skillful use of spices and condiments, and appropriate cooking practices."

The FDA quietly rejected the Army's application for approval of irradiated canned ham April 19. That decision and a nasty letter from Goddard to Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the AEC, cast a pall over the future

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of irradiated foods. Goddard's letter which FDA refuses to release (but which is freely available from Dr. Seaborg) called the Army's animal studies "poorly executed" and "incomplete" and its evaluation of data "inadequate." Whatever their shortcomings, the studies revealed, according to Goddard, evidence of adverse effects on the reproductive process, mortality, body weight, and red blood cell counts of experimental animals and incidents of tumors and cataracts. That might spoil a few appetites at Fort Lee.

The AEC and the Army last year contracted with IRRADCO, an Allentown Pa. concern formed by Isotopes, Inc., Allen Products Co., Alpo (the dog food subsidiary of Liggett and Myers), Martin-Marietta and Uniroyal (whose connection is purely financial) to build a plant in Allentown to process 3,000,000 pounds of meat annually. The plant would start out with dog food and (it was hoped) canned ham which the Defense Department planned to feed its troops (300,000 pounds per year), starting in 1969.

Contingent on FDA approval, the plant, in which IRRADCO has already dropped half a million dollars, may never be constructed. Robert Kleiner, Vice President of Isotopes, Inc. and a member of IRRADCO's board of directors said last week that if the disclosures in Goddard's letter are well founded, "then we have a very long way to go." "We're having a meeting this month in Washington with AEC, and hopefully with FDA although that isn't very likely, to determine our course of action. Building the plant is still quite up in the air." Kleiner is somewhat pessimistic although plans have been afoot to transfer FDA's regulatory function to AEC within the next year. In any case, "Dr. Goddard's departure can't do any harm."

It remains to be seen whether Dr. Goddard's as yet unnamed successor at FDA will be any less zealous in safeguarding the public health against the AEC, the Army, IRRADCO and the irradiated food people. At the moment it is rather likely that FDA approvals already granted to irradiated potatoes, wheat and bacon will also be withdrawn by an FDA suspicious that there is something wrong with irradiated foods.

Michigan Shenanigans

How Convention Delegates Are Picked

by James Ridgeway

Detroit

While Democrats in Michigan fancy themselves an independent pro-people crowd, the way they selected on June 2, 102 delegates with 96 votes to the national convention smelled of old-time bossism.

This curious and complicated business was conducted as follows. Two years ago in August, there were precinct elections for delegates to county or district meetings. These county or district meetings in turn picked the national convention delegates, or most of them. But, there were two or more competing candidates in only 10 percent of the state's 5,000 odd precincts. In about half the precincts, candidates ran unopposed; in the remainder there were no elections at all, and delegates were selected to represent these precincts at county or district meetings. More important, the precinct representatives were picked so long ago they can scarcely be said to represent how the voters *now* feel about Vietnam or anything else. None of the presidential candidates running was even thought of in 1966. Since the great bulk of the delegates have no real constituency, moreover, they were open to manipulation by the party regulars or by the labor unions which play a major role in Michigan Democratic politics – as we shall see.

In Wayne County, which includes Detroit, the districts met May 17 and elected 24 delegates to go to the national convention. The other 52 districts held back, waiting for the state convention this month before picking *their* delegates. (The state party leadership picks a third group of 24 delegates-at-large, who are routinely ratified at the state convention.)

Is it all clear so far? Then we can move to the background.

Michigan was among the northern states which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fashioned a progressive Democratic Party after the Second World War. For years it was "Soapy" Williams (read Reuther) country. Then it became the more moderate Romney's. This year the temper seems conservative; Nixon is quite likely to win if he is the Republican presidential candidate. The Democratic pros think that if any Democrat can win, it is Humphrey; at least that was the consensus prior to the killing of Senator Kennedy. The leaders have also made quite a point of their party's "programmatic" character, its interest in issues above personalities. But the state conventions had no debate on issues, Vietnam was barely mentioned.

Since Michigan Democrats want at all costs to back a winner, the central committee sent around a memo sometime back asking all convention delegates to stay free and uncommitted. Behind this facade of impartiality, the back room politicking for Hubert Humphrey was intense. Before the state convention opened the line-up ran something like this: Six of the seven Democratic congressmen openly declared for Humphrey. Senator Philip A. Hart was in an awkward situation, since his wife and daughter are for McCarthy. Hart is generally regarded as inclining to Humphrey and his staff within the state work for Humphrey. His former assistant, William B. Welsh, is now a chief Humphrey aide and ran the Michigan campaign for the Vice President from Washington. The mayor of Detroit, Jerome Cavanagh, had been for Kennedy, but his political career looks bleak. Cavanagh is in a mess; he needs to raise Detroit's budget and income tax but the city council is against him. Humphrey has the edge in the state's central committee.

The politics of the party are, of course, strongly influenced by the interests of the labor movement, and in particular, the UAW. But the UAW has declared itself neutral, and Walter Reuther, while friendly to the Kennedys stayed clear of politicking. In fact the union in Michigan is split, with most of the district leaders who are closest to the rank and file, favoring Humphrey; the UAW executive board had been thought partial to Kennedy. Outside Michigan, in New York and California, Kennedy had considerable strength within the UAW. Reuther's hands-off attitude is taken as an admission he couldn't carry the rank and file if he tried. The AFL-CIO, of course, is straight Humphrey.

There is also a black caucus within the Michigan party, made up of middle-class Negroes, many of them in the UAW. It includes Congressman Charles Diggs, who is for Humphrey and John Conyers, who is not. Before the state convention opened the black caucus had demanded that at least half the seats in the 24 man-at-large delegation be given to them. Since Conyers was the single most powerful influence in the caucus, this was taken to be a shrewd maneuver by which anti-Humphrey forces might pick up delegates.

While McCarthy had stirred up grass roots interest, especially among the professors and the students, he had little in the way of an organization. Senator Fred Harris, co-chairman of the Humphrey campaign, had been twice in Detroit to cajole delegates into coming out for Humphrey. Harris had his eye on California, and on encouraging the Vice President's supporters in Ohio and New Jersey. The Humphrey people even had hopes of binding Michigan's delegation with a unit rule; it hasn't been so bound since 1952. Meanwhile, the Kennedy forces worked to elect uncommitted candidates, in hopes of winning them over later; in some instances the Kennedy people joined with McCarthy in trying to knock out Humphrey slates.

Saturday morning, June 1, the Humphrey gang threw a free brunch for the delegates at Cobo Hall, where the convention was being held. Party hacks lined up in rows on the platform and Humphrey was brought in behind three bedraggled looking bag-pipers. The Vice President reminded the delegates of his own splendid record as a progressive; he had helped them build the liberal movement in the late 1940's, now he wanted their assistance. He said the Democratic party, and by inference LBJ, was good for the country: "John Kennedy said 'let us begin,' Lyndon Johnson said 'let us continue,' and Hubert Humphrey [he cannot break the habit of referring to himself in the third person] says 'let us move forward on that record.' . . . I do not believe that I need to tear at the very heart of that record in order to make my pronouncements and my program look better. Not on your life. I don't think I have to run down my family in order to make me look better. I don't think I have to run down the work of my father in order to make me look better. And I don't think I have to run down the work of Lyndon Johnson to make me look better."

Humphrey said nothing about the war; he pointed out that he was for Food for Peace, the Peace Corps and international education.

When Humphrey was done, a black delegate took over and tried to rouse the crowd to cheers, but as Humphrey left by one door, most of the delegates poured out by another.

The Kennedy partisans countered the Humphrey brunch with their own show that afternoon at the Sheraton-Cadillac, the hotel where most of the delegates hung out. They brought out a glee club of teenagers who sang old-fashioned melodies, a squad of athletes, Jack Paar, Theodore Sorensen, and Ted Kennedy. Delegates who sought to see more of Ted by going to the Kennedy's hospitality suite on the 24th floor pushed and shoved as they squeezed into the ele-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vators, which kept getting stuck between floors. The hotel management had to smash doors on several floors to get passengers out. Athletes representing both candidates roamed the lobbies picking up girls. Several matronly looking sorts stared in fascination at a film the Humphrey crowd showed over and over in the lobby. In it Humphrey answered questions about his wife's illness, and this seemed to go down well with the ladies. The McCarthy young people rushed back and forth in herds. And in the English Room, a very swell place done in plaid drapes, the Black Caucus gathered. As is the case with these modish black events, a bouncer stood at the door to turn away whites. A mixed couple arrived to attend the meeting, and after haggling awhile with the bouncer, the black husband got in, but his white wife remained outside.

Interest was waning fast, with people retiring to bars for the Belmont Stakes, when somebody on the central committee frantically called the McCarthy leaders to get down to Cobo Hall where the districts were caucusing and for god sake stop the fist fights at the meetings of the 6th and 12th.

The 12th district embraces the Detroit suburb of Macomb County, and is the center of the Humphrey drive. The leader of the Vice President's Michigan campaign, Congressman James G. O'Hara, comes from there, and he was running the district meeting.

The McCarthy people had gone to county court Friday morning, May 31, and got an injunction against seating delegates from the 12th on the grounds that the election at which they were picked had been rigged. The judge directed that the district hold new elections that night. However, in the *afternoon* of Friday, a Humphrey lawyer persuaded the judge to dissolve the order. The McCarthy faction then met anyway in rump sessions, elected the delegates in question, who showed up at the Cobo Hall meeting demanding to be seated. O'Hara refused, and sought to clear the room, whereupon the Humphrey and McCarthy crowd traded punches. The police arrived to restore order. The McCarthyites were subdued, and resuming the meeting, O'Hara quickly rammed through the pro-Humphrey slate.

Over at the 6th district meeting, things moved in reverse. The McCarthy supporters, who claimed a plurality in the largest county within the district were trying to get unit rule for the county which in turn would give them control of the district. Rather than suffer this, the Humphrey people walked out and held their own rump session. When the McCarthy delegates sought to follow the Humphrey supporters and get them back to the meeting, the two sides once again squared off.

Both these disputes went to the credentials committee, which came down on the side of the Humphrey slates, and then to the floor which did likewise. The arguments may still be pushed into the courts, and to the national convention.

Later that evening, the districts reported to the so-called Midnight Caucus, a secret session where the party leadership decided on the delegates at large. This caucus included the district leaders, elected party officials, central committee members and labor. It dragged on through the morning hours. The delegates haggled in the halls; every so often some harried woman would run out of the room and disappear with a message. Meanwhile, the McCarthy youngsters sang folk songs and were generally in evidence; more people were screaming to get out of elevators stuck between the floors of the hotel; the hotel management had long since given up on getting them out. Finally a lady reporter called the fire department, which arrived in force and broke in some more elevator doors.

About 3 a.m. the Midnight Caucus finally broke up, and as all the party officials had said from the very beginning there were no disputes; everything had been settled. The Black Caucus had been obliged with three seats at large, but they turned out to be Humphrey blacks, not Kennedy blacks. The pro-Humphrey leadership had put out the word to the districts to get more blacks in their slates, and that was done. Of the total 24-man-at-large delegation, at least 17 were counted for Humphrey.

So by the time the convention *officially* opened on Sunday, June 2, Humphrey people were claiming two-thirds of the slate and looking for a preference poll; Kennedy's men said they had half the delegates – but did not say which ones – and the McCarthy people admitted to having at least two delegates.

With all the business thus arranged, the convention of the Michigan Democratic Party was called to order. First the delegates meekly agreed they should vote on delegates at large before discussing the issues embodied in the report of the resolutions committee. As it turned out, the issues never got discussed, thus neatly avoiding a McCarthy fight over Vietnam policy. Instead the resolution report was lateraled to a resolutions committee of the delegation to the national convention, which was pro-Humphrey. The at-large delegates, picked by the Midnight Caucus were routinely certified. Whenever McCarthy delegates or Kennedy-McCarthy coalitions sought to challenge the leadership, they were voted down by the margins running as much as 5-1.

In the end, the specter of Walter Reuther was invoked, and in order to avoid embarrassing the UAW, a preference poll was delayed until after the California primary, thereby giving the no-issue, good-guys delegation from Michigan a further chance to make sure it was with the winner, whatever his policies might be.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why I'm for Rockefeller

by Thruston B. Morton

I am deeply concerned whether the leadership of either the Democratic or the Republican parties is sufficiently aware of the tremendous responsibilities they share in 1968. Perhaps as never before, the American people are going to need, demand, the best each party has to offer. As never before, the political power structure should put the public interest before narrow self-interest. But don't bet on it! At this writing, the odds are that the entrenched and too traditional party bosses will choose, or guide the selection of, their party's nominee, and that the coronation ceremonies at each convention this August will reflect more the desires of the pols than the polls.

Far too much depends on the sagacity of our national leadership at this time to permit the choice of a new President to be determined by entrenched party functionaries, for these are unusual times, and they demand unusual foresight and freedom of action.

That is why I have come to the conclusion that Nelson Rockefeller is the only Republican candidate who can win this fall, and who can thereafter unite a divided nation. He is the only tested political leader who can make the tough decisions, with his eyes and his options open. He is, in my opinion, the only Republican who can win other than a Pyrrhic victory.

In political terms, he might also redirect the Republican Party from its self-imposed minority status to a role of national responsibility. This would require moving more in the direction of the Republican governors, who occupy 26 statehouses where a substantial majority of our citizens reside, and away from the traditional position of a more or less responsible opposition in the Congress.

In a tumultuous year that has produced a multitude of crises at home and abroad as well as presidential possibilities, it seems appropriate to discuss Governor Rockefeller in relation to the declared and potential candidates in both parties. It is also pertinent to examine the issues to which Governor Rockefeller and all the challengers must address themselves.

All of us at the moment are in a state of shock over the assassination of Robert Kennedy on the very day of his political triumph in California and South Dakota. We shall never know what greater triumphs he would have achieved. We can only salute him and sorrow what has been lost by this monstrous, mindless act of terror.

The candidacy of Vice President Humphrey, more by circumstance than design, represents the last will and testament of an Administration largely discredited by its pursuance of unrealistic goals abroad, and unfulfilled promises at home. The currently embattled President of France, Charles de Gaulle, has frequently and hypocritically referred to US foreign policy as tempted by a "taste for intervention." The policies which Vice President Humphrey must defend, and logically extend, are premised upon a taste for government intervention into the affairs of every citizen and too many nations. The foreign policy which Mr. Humphrey has helped formulate has led this country down a garden path of overcommitment, such as Vietnam, from which we must now attempt to extricate ourselves. Such outdated policies, for which both political parties share some degree of blame, must be changed. Can a man whose nomination will largely depend upon the support of President Johnson repudiate the foreign adventures of his benefactor?

Just as dated are the old New Deal dogmas of domestic government intervention, based on the illusion that a Great Society can be built from the top down. Such divergent social scholars as Milton Friedman and Daniel Moynihan, and disparate pressure groups as the NAM and ADA, generally agree that the remedy for our urban and racial ills will no longer be found in an increased multiplicity of federal bureaucracies. Rather, a new blending of resources and responsibilities must emerge in which the full initiatives of state and local governments, the private sector, and Washington, can be utilized. Humphrey is product and proponent of an approach to domestic problems that has outlived its usefulness. Can he, in any measurable degree, depart from the populist ideology stretching from Roosevelt to Johnson, and urge a radical realignment of America's diverse strengths to deal effectively with our immense weaknesses?

THRUSTON B. MORTON, *US Senator from Kentucky and member of the Finance and Commerce Committees, has served as chairman of the Republican National Committee, and chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. He is not running for reelection this year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Governer Rockefeller is committed, by word and deed, to the proposition that a new mix of energies can and must be applied now to pressing social needs. As governor of New York, he has demonstrated that action programs can be originated and carried out at the state level, and that they can be massively as well as soundly financed. No other presidential candidate, of either party, has comparable credentials in this area. Rockefeller is a manager and an innovator with the proven capacity to develop a new set of relationships between the private and public sectors that can cope with present-day realities. One of these realities is that the federal government must continue to play a major role in our social and environmental betterment. The other is that while the level of welfare spending must continue to rise, the greatest increase will come from outside the Washington establishment.

Senator Eugene McCarthy, a modern man for all seasons, appears destined to be rejected by the Democratic big city bosses and party power brokers. They have seen him organize the young and the alienated into orderly and effective campaigners. They don't like what they see. Gene McCarthy is threatening to let light and air into the smoke-filled room and the political operators prefer to work in the dark, out of sight. Senator McCarthy has, almost singlehandedly, forced the heavy hand of the Administration on the issue of Vietnam and opened that national tragedy to the glare of political debate that it demands. For this our nation owes him an unpayable debt. Regardless of the outcome of present and future diplomatic maneuvers, McCarthy has made it possible, if not likely, for the US to change a course destined for disaster.

And that is not all. He has succeeded, I hope lastingly, in turning on our nation's most valuable asset, the young, who had been turned off by the misguided direction of our involvement in Vietnam and its disruptive repercussions here at home. In a sense, he deserves to be elected President. But that, realistically, is not the way the system works. Logistics and organization will win out.

On the Republican side no less than the Democratic, the incredible events of recent months have opened up a new challenge and a new opportunity. These earthshaking events have also raised a number of serious questions, that under different circumstances might have fallen simply within the purview of our party leadership, but now deserve and demand the country's attention. For the answers may well spell not only the future of the Republican Party and our two-party system. They will also have a profound influence on whether we, as a party and as a nation, heal our social wounds or permit them to fester – whether we face the world as it is rather than as it was.

Will the Republican Party continue as the smallest of our three political groupings, trying harder but trailing behind Democrats and Independents? There is only one of the leading contenders in my party who has consistently shown that he can command the support of a great majority of independent voters and siphon off a very substantial percentage of registered Democrats. That man is Nelson Rockefeller. In recent national polls, Governor Rockefeller runs as strong, in two out of three cases stronger, than Richard Nixon. But, even more important, in the big population industrial states Rockefeller has a decisive lead. He runs between 10 and 20 percent ahead of Mr. Nixon against any Democrat with California voters. In the key states of Ohio and Pennsylvania, current private polls show Rockefeller the only Republican who could win. All the primaries have conclusively proven that Dick Nixon has the hearts and votes of an overwhelming percentage of registered Republicans. Such support and unity are valuable and deserved, but while no one can unite Republicans like Richard Nixon, neither can anyone so unite Democrats.

I must add that divisiveness within my own party is not going to be a major factor this year because too many of us still bear the scars of four years ago, and because most are looking to possible victory ahead

SALVAGE OPERATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than dwelling on defeats in the past. Governor Rockefeller has made it clear, perhaps at some cost to his early campaign, that he will have no part of the acrimony that tore us apart in 1964. But ducking acrimony does not require ducking the issues and ducking debate. Nelson Rockefeller will not do this, nor will I. But 1968 is a far piece from the last presidential campaign, and I am confident that all the candidates and all Republicans will support whoever emerges on top from the convention in Miami.

Can strict party unity and orthodoxy prevail, however, in an unorthodox age rent with political dissensions? In this uncertain land and time, there is growing disillusionment with both the Republican and Democratic parties. The greatest growth in political clout is developing among those of all ages, of all incomes, of all geographic areas, who cannot pledge blind allegiance to any party. Their accomplishments and their hopes have outdistanced the narrow party platforms of the past.

This new power center is going to weigh carefully objectives with capabilities, aspirations with possibilities, and their new realism is tempered with confidence in themselves and hope for the future. This mighty but unmeasured mass of Americans will not buy the old terms of inevitability, from poverty at home to "victory" abroad. They are growing accustomed to change; they want it.

If the philosophy of Nelson Rockefeller can be simply summarized, I believe it is adaptability to change. Labels such as liberal and conservative have gone out of style, have lost whatever relevance and meaning they ever had. The Governor of New York understands the desperate need to develop flexible programs to deal with rapidly changing crises in our cities, in our schools, in our environment, and in our very attitudes, which, in the final analysis, will determine if our nation will pull together, or come apart. As governor, Rockefeller has proposed, pushed through a frequently uncooperative legislature, and then wisely administered complex programs in housing and mass transportation that are bigger than those of the federal government. At the same time, he has never let size and complexity override individual initiative and individual welfare.

Rockefeller also understands the complexity of change around the world, and the unfortunate fact that US policies have largely failed to keep pace with this change. We have become locked into foreign policy positions that have too much in common with the circumstances of 1948, and too little with 1968 and the tidal waves that are sure to come. For instance, 20 years ago Nelson Rockefeller foresaw the need for economic assistance to open up the hinterland of Latin America. He warned of political and social upheaval if the United States did not move speedily to develop a sense of partnership with our neighbors to the south.

Will the Republican Party lead the revolution of discontent at home and around the world, or fight it? Will we lead the search for accommodation among peoples and nations, or obstruct it? I believe our party has the leadership and the vision to guide the manifest disorders in the cities and in the universities away from violent overthrow and toward peaceful solution. We can if we take a positive approach, talking more about construction and less about condemnation.

Twenty years ago, a Republican leader in the US Senate urged passage of legislation for federally sponsored programs to deal with water pollution, public housing, aid to education, fair employment and health care. "I believe," he said, "the American people feel that with the high production of which we are now capable, there is enough left over to prevent undue hardship and maintain a minimum standard floor under subsistence, education, medical care and housing, to give all a minimum standard of decent living and to all children a fair opportunity to get a start in life."

Sounds like Michael Harrington! But, it was the late Robert Taft. If "Mr. Republican" rejected the notion a generation ago that such programs were "pie in the sky," one can hardly describe massive rebuilding of our ghettos and some form of incentive income supplement as "pie in the sky" today. The Republican Party that Nelson Rockefeller represents has a recorded tradition of charting bold new courses of action, and if we follow the Taft example, we will nominate Rockefeller in August and then elect him.

Here and abroad, there is a crying need for accommodation, between races, between rich and poor, between nations, between ideologies. I remember only too well the shrill cries of fear and obstruction that one year ago echoed in the Senate and from a very vocal minority across the land. We were then considering ratification of a consular treaty with the Soviet Union, the Fiat deal, East-West trade and other calculated and cautious measures to break down the barriers to better understanding between opposing (but decomposing) ideologies. One group was formed calling itself CEASE, or the Committee to End Aid to the Soviet Enemy! Such narrow-minded, simplistic views contribute nothing to a reasoned and rational foreign policy and are counterproductive to our national security and our national interest. Governor Rockefeller has convinced me, and I am sure he will convince his party colleagues and the American people, that he stands for enlightened self-interest in American relations with friend and foe alike.

I am convinced that he believes, as I do, that we are overcommitted and overextended around the world, that we must weigh more carefully the balance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of military and economic aid, and that it is imperative that a new Administration immediately reexamine precisely what is and what is not vital to our national security. Nelson Rockefeller would pledge vision not invasion, mobility not mobilization.

The presidential elections of 1968 offer the Republican Party its last best hope to put together a national political coalition built upon the ashes of the once all-powerful New Deal. We can do it this year. We can offer the 12 million young and overwhelmingly responsible Americans, who will vote in a national election for the first time, a candidate and a platform that will command their interest and support. We can offer our bewildered and despairing underclass, black and white, urban and rural, a new sense of participation. We can guarantee them a helping hand to progress, within a framework of equality before the law, and order tempered with understanding.

A century ago, the fledgling Republican Party did promise democracy to the oppressed, offered land to the homeless, education to the illiterate, freedom to the slave. Some called our party revolutionary in those days, but Republicans were proud of it and displayed the adventurous spirit that made America first a continental nation and then a world power.

We can do it again. I deeply believe that the aspirations and the realistic objectives of the great majority of Americans have more in common than not. If we stress progress, if we outline problem-solving, if we accentuate improved human relations, if we put the positive before the punitive, then we can and will elect a Republican President in 1968. Only a fool or a charlatan would promise peace and quiet, order and obedience in a time so fraught with confusion, difficulty and disruption. There are rough days ahead. But whether our society survives and prospers may depend on where we put the emphasis. Governor Rockefeller has demonstrated that he understands the importance of relating human needs to material priorities. Only the Republican Party can give the American people the opportunity to give him their support. The big political question in coming weeks is – will it?

Safety on the Job

by Ralph Nader and Jerome Gordon

"Imagine yourself sitting in your office a few months from today. A young man barges in. You recognize him as a man you once refused to hire. He had no education and no potential you could use. His main experience consisted of cashing welfare checks. But he shows you he's now a representative of the federal government – an inspector with the Department of Labor. And he threatens to padlock your gates and have you fined $1,000 a day if you don't do as he says."

With minor historic adjustments, the foregoing remarks could have issued from the business barons of the McKinley era. Actually, they were written two months ago by the US Chamber of Commerce as a call to obstruction by US business of the Johnson Administration's worker health and security bill. With a lobbying effort, in conjunction with such other major trade associations as the National Association of Manufacturers, that has led the Chamber to unfurl its true colors, there is a growing probability that Congress will not act by the end of this session. That would mean another year without a comprehensive federal program designed to end colossal inaction and penury by our society in dealing with the following conditions:

► Every working day 55 workers die, 8,500 are disabled and 27,200 are injured (a case can be made that these data are underenumerated by at least 25 percent annually.)

► Unlike traumatic injuries which are relatively visible, the longer range injuries causing insidious deterioration of the human body come from exposure to coal dust, asbestos, lead, cadmium, beryllium, cotton dust, carbon monoxide, chemicals, dyes, radiation, pesticides, benzene and thousands of other toxic materials. Industrial uses of chemicals are growing so rapidly that voluntary exposure limits have been set for only 400 of the 6,000 chemicals in substantial use.

The federal government at present has no authority to issue mandatory safety standards for various private occupations, with few exceptions like longshoremen, stevedores, maritime and to a smaller extent, coal miners and soon, uranium miners. Adverse health and safety conditions have been worsening in the past decade, while workmen's compensation benefits have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not kept up with living costs. (One third of the labor force is not covered by any workmen's compensation).

Paralleling this deterioration is the pathetic and industry-indentured performance of the states, who traditionally have had exclusive jurisdiction over worker health and safety. Only 1,600 state safety inspectors are around, some tied by ambition, laziness or lucre to winking at violations. By contrast, the states retain at least double that number of fish and game wardens. Overall, the states' worker safety programs spend an average of 40 cents a year per non-agricultural worker, with Texas and Oklahoma, for example, spending about two cents per non-agricultural worker. Further, of the 1,600 state inspectors, about 700 inspect boilers, elevators and mines, leaving the remainder for general safety inspection, construction, safety promotion and education, health and industrial hygiene. Four states have no inspection staff at all; 17 states have fewer than 11 safety inspectors. More dismaying, only three states have staff specializing in the area of occupational health and industrial hygiene.

Over, underneath, and around this fragile state framework are the representatives of industry and commerce making certain that there is no applied sanctions to even the meek laws and controlling the process of developing standards, through their so-called United States Standards Institute of America (until 1966 the American Standards Association) whose promulgations are hurried into state statutes or regulations. Even data collection reflects the omnipresence of business: in 1966, less than half the states required employers to report all accidents and less than two-thirds of the states require employers to keep accident records. Just what constitutes work injury is defined for states by industry through the USA Standards Institute (USASI). The present standard 216.1 vests considerable authority in plant medical personnel in determining whether an injury constitutes an "injury," and does not count third-party fatalities in an industrial catastrophe as "industrial fatalities," even if they were employees in nearby establishments.

The factory climate surrounding data collection makes deep skepticism the minimal response to the Chamber of Commerce's claims of progress and superiority over other industrial nations. Accident and injury reporting in many industries, such as steel and autos, is deliberately aborted in numerous cases. Testimony before the House Education and Labor Subcommittee earlier this year by Public Health Service employees and medical professors cited cases such as a man bodily carried from his hospital and given a bed at the work place in order to eliminate lost time accidents. Less extraordinary but far more frequent are "make work" activities after injuries or "no-work" such as sitting the worker at a table doing nothing. Data on occupational diseases such as respiratory and liver ailments from toxic exposures are woefully incomplete, according to a report by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

One of the major canons of medical science – free communication – is severely undermined by the subordination of professional dictates to corporate expediencies. Dr. Hawey A. Wells, a pathologist and professor at the University of West Virginia Medical School, offers two illustrations of little-known corporate censorship:

"A Dr. John Zalinsky told us about 30 cases of a chronic lung disease caused by exposure to 'safe' levels of beryllium dust. He was told by his company's management that if he published these cases in the medical literature he would have to look for another job. He was torn between professional honesty and personal security – he had had one heart attack and would have difficulty in finding another job. Before he was able to resolve this dilemma, he died from another heart attack. His material has never been published.

"I have personal knowledge of a plant which uses manganese, long known to be a toxic metal. Through bitter experience, management recently found that it poisoned the nervous system, causing permanent brain damage in exposed workers. They are now using a simple test, no more complicated than a prick on the finger, to detect exposure to manganese long before permanent nerve injury occurs. Hundreds of other companies who now use manganese do not have the advantage of knowing about this simple test because it has not been published in this country.

"Unless each physician, each industrial hygienist, and safety engineer has available to him the research experience of all of those who preceded him in his profession, he must duplicate the research in every case, often at the cost of human life."

Under-reporting of occupational diseases is also related to inadequate state laws permitting health officials to have a right of entry into the plants. One plant in Pennsylvania (a right of entry state) was using the chemical beta naphthylamine, which a health specialist learned was causing carcinoma of the bladder. The plant promptly moved to Georgia (no right of entry state) and resumed operations unhindered.

Under-reporting has other harmful consequences. Not knowing the patient's occupational exposure, a physician can produce a mistaken diagnosis. For instance, the Public Health Service two years ago reported three "pneumonia" deaths that were later traced to the use of silver solder containing deadly cadmium.

Definitional absurdities have resulted in these abuses uncovered by the N.Y. State Department of Labor:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A plant employing over 2,000 persons did not consider reportable any injuries that did not entail lost time, nor did it report any temporary injuries that fell within the seven-day workmen's compensation waiting period. The corrected injury frequency rate was almost triple that originally reported by the firm.

Another firm, employing over 10,000, was reporting a low rate of injury by comparison with the rest of the large companies in the same industry, until it was discovered that it was reporting only compensable cases. This practice may require revising our notion that big plants are safer than small plants.

With both industry and the states grievously deficient in defining new hazards and in collecting adequate data, the cumulative toll annually of 500,000 disabled by occupational diseases, over two million disabled by occupational accidents and over seven million injured must be considered a substantial understatement. And we haven't begun to measure the deleterious effects of noise, artificial light, vibration and other assaults on man's physiological integrity.

The insurance industry, taking in $2.3 billion in workmen's compensation premiums in 1967, spent an unspecified $35 million on industrial safety and inspection. This relatively tiny sum has resulted in little loss prevention work and no significant contributions to data collection and retrieval. Contrary to popular impression, workmen's compensation insurance is enormously profitable to most companies with a range of between 10 and 35 percent gross margin profits in the past 20 years. Their public relations to the contrary, such insurance carriers have not been eager to publicize new worker hazards in any forum and have not shared their knowledge with governmental authorities as befits good corporate citizenship. The highly touted safety record adjustment or "merit rating experience" applies for only 20 percent of all insurance risks. The underwriters have shown almost no interest in plugging loopholes in state laws – for example, only 18 state laws cover all employment. Others have exemptions of varying scope, such as all work activity *except* mining and construction.

Against such a background, it is not surprising that the Chamber and the National Association of Manufacturers are moving to block the federal bill by delaying it through the session or proposing a study commission in the alternative. Failing that, they will strive to strip it of meaningful penalties, surround it with advisory committees and demand usage of industry standards via USASI. Big business benefits from the do-little symbolic states laws with their financially starved administrators, and from the lower costs of insuring against risks of industrial injury that are possible with incomplete reporting of accidents, injuries and disease.

As now proposed by the Administration, the worker safety and health bill provides for setting mandatory standards applicable to employers affecting interstate commerce (roughly 50 million employees). The bill authorizes the Secretary of Labor to inspect the premises, issue cease and desist orders, and invoke other civil and criminal sanctions where necessary. Compliance with such standards can be made a condition of continuing federal contracts with the firm. The bill provides for grants up to 90 percent of the cost to the states to upgrade their role in data, inspection, enforcement and general administration. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is given a mission in research, training of personnel and developing safety criteria. The projected total cost over the next five years is estimated at $300 million, or approximately $30 million a year beyond current levels. Compare this sum with the cost in 1966 of work accidents and illnesses – $6.8 billion.

Americans far from the blue-collar world have absorbed a decisive image of industry as gleaming, one-story, antiseptic space-age firms where rates of injuries and disease are not far from zero frequency. Unfortunately, work is getting more complex and dangerous all the time, not just for the blue-collar worker but for the white-coated scientist or laboratory technician handling exotic materals. Dr. Miriam Sachs told the House Subcommittee in February something of this trend when she described the "shift from a mechanical to a broadly diversified array of new hazards," including many new agricultural hazards flowing from the use of synthetic chemicals as fertilizers or as pesticides.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz, in perhaps the most feeling testimony of his career, told the Senate subcommittee on Labor what the grisly evidence points to as the central issue:

"It is whether the Congress is going to act to stop a carnage which continues for one reason, and one reason only, and that is because the people in this country don't realize what is involved, and they can't see the blood on the food that they eat, and on the things that they buy, and on the services they get."

Secretary Wirtz has the facts, enough in themselves for action, but pointing to a larger dimension of industrial neglect than was thought possible a year ago. One datum in his testimony: half of the nation's 137,000 coal miners suffer from the cruel dust disease – pneumoconiosis of the lungs; they breath with difficulty and spit black sputum daily. Not many Americans know of this human depletion when they receive the benefits of coal energy. That's what Secretary Wirtz is talking about and that is what the Chamber of Commerce doesn't want us to hear.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Son of a Witch

Somewhere near the middle of *Rosemary's Baby,* three things begin to happen, and the second half of the film becomes highly effective. First, the cumbersome building-block method at the start is abandoned for the *use* of what has been built. Second, Mia Farrow begins to justify her presence as Rosemary; we see that she has been cast with a view to what happens ultimately, rather than for initial (failed) charm. Third, our expectations change toward the director, Roman Polanski. We realize that he must no longer be burdened with the standards he set for himself with *Knife in the Water,* that, since then, he has only been trying to entertain us and that, on this level, he is at last succeeding.

Rosemary's Baby
(Paramount)
Fist in His Pocket
(Peppercorn-Wormser)

The screenplay, based on Ira Levin's novel, is credited to Polanski. This is remarkable. Even though much of the dialogue comes from the book, even though Polanski's fluency in English has grown astonishingly, it is still a fact that he left Poland less than five years ago with no English at all.

The story, familiar to many, is about a young New York couple who get trapped in witchcraft, and it thrives on the contrast between Manhattan modernity and ancient magic. The setting is a famous old apartment house on Central Park West. A young actor makes a bargain with a band of witches – technically, a coven – in return for success in the theatre that they will fix supernaturally for him. The deal obliges him to let Satan beget a child on his wife, who is quite unaware of the Faustian pact but who is to be a "black" Mary bearing a "black" Messiah. The plot focuses on her slow realization of what is happening in and around her during her pregnancy, her efforts to save her forthcoming child, and, after delivery, her acceptance – out of irresistible mother instinct – of her diabolic infant son.

Most films that begin feebly finish feebly. *Rosemary's Baby* is an exception. The opening pan along the New York skyline, then down the front of the apartment house, is trite. The first scenes are disappointing: the young couple and the renting agent, the couple and an old friend at dinner, the young wife and another girl in the laundromat basement. They lack the sense of control that even Polanski disappointments like *Repulsion* and *Cul de Sac* showed in every frame. Much of the shooting in the early part is from floor level, possibly to suggest overhanging dread even in bland scenes, but it doesn't work. For too long, our only interest is in an elderly couple next door. Sidney Blackmer's fruity acting is here overripened to suggest decadence. Ruth Gordon's stridency and gnomishness, which have generally distracted me in the theatre, are here skillfully used to imply that her comic everydayness covers something baleful. Then, too, as the film begins to jell, Miss Farrow begins to hold us. Through sheer unattractiveness, as well as inadequacy, she flounders at first in what seems a hip comedy with mystery overtones. When she becomes the emaciated, trapped victim of a mystery with comic overtones, she gets much better.

Some of the other casting is questionable. As the young couple's older friend, Maurice Evans is an elocutionary dud. As Miss Farrow's husband, John Cassavetes has little flavor and only imitative sharpness – but, admittedly, this makes him resemble many of the people in the theatre world that his character inhabits. Ralph Bellamy, as a bearded Jewish obstetrician, is not markedly different from Ralph Bellamy as Franklin D. Roosevelt, save for the whiskers.

The Technicolor camerawork of William Fraker, who did *The Fox,* is acceptable, except in the exteriors where it is unacceptable. The process photography – dreams and so on – by Farciot Edouart is much more clearly "seen." The most interesting point about the music, which is too whooped-up in the climactic scene, is that it was written by Christopher Komeda, who, as Kryzsztof Komeda-Trzcinski, has written the scores for almost all of Polanski's films since they were students together in Poland.

As for Polanski himself, he is teaching us how to regard him. *Knife in the Water,* his fine first film, was a tight little Sartrean engine of internal forces. Since then, the horrors in his films have become much more external, at best merely entertaining. *Repulsion,* a chronicle of psychotic murders, was coolly frightening, if largely gratuitous. *Cul de Sac* was a far-out thriller-rag, less successful but sometimes ingenious. *The Fearless Vampire Killers,* which Polanski says was mutilated by the distributors, was an amusing idea for a *Dracula* spoof, but it completely misfired. *Rosemary's Baby* seems to settle in right where he wants to live: as a manufacturer of intelligent thrillers, clever and insubstantial. Only a director with wit could have made the witchcraft credible. Only a director with real cinematic gifts could have made a sequence like the one where Rosemary barricades herself in the apartment or the childbirth scene. Only a director satisfied with ephemera could have lavished his gifts on the whole project.

But serious intent does not always result in serious work, even in talented hands. The young Italian, Marco Bellocchio, is certainly talented. His second film, *China Is Near,* with which he made his American debut, proved it. Now his first film, *Fist in His Pocket,* has arrived. It is excellently acted, and Bellocchio has directed with a wonderful modern impatience – impatience with irrelevant detail, mechanical transition, and conventional sentiments. But all the talents – of cast and director – spill out of the leaky script. Written by Bellocchio, it is intended as dark domestic tragedy; it

(Continued on page 41)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unheretical Critic of Foreign Policy

by John Osborne

George Ball says at the start of his book that he omits the usual thanks to friends who read all or bits of it before publication because "they might feel compromised by some of its heresies." He and they need not have worried. There are passages about our "grotesque" China policy, about the "breathless universalism" of our general foreign policy, about our blind trudge into "the dismal swamp of Vietnam." They might be regarded as heresies if the author were prepared to burn for them. But he is not. The George Ball reflected here is no heretic. He is a conformist, thoroughly dedicated to the principles which have underlaid our foreign policy since the postwar 1940's. He quarrels with their application, but not with the principles. He believes as firmly as John Foster Dulles did and Dean Rusk does in the use of American power to protect vast portions of the world and to maintain a balance of power between its chief antagonists.

The Discipline of Power
by George W. Ball
(Atlantic-Little, Brown; $7.50)

After reading *The Discipline of Power*, I understand how Mr. Ball managed to thrive for six years as Under Secretary of State while his newspaper reputation as "the devil's advocate," a valued goad and dissenter in the councils of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, was acquired (or, he would say, thrust upon him). I find it quite natural that the author has been recalled to duty as a policy adviser to President Johnson and as our next Ambassador to the United Nations, with a cordial invitation to stay at the White House when he is in Washington. Mr. Ball shows himself to be that most comforting and tolerable of dissenters, an accomplished and skeptical companion-in-council who is supple enough to doubt his own doubts and who never, in any case, presses them to the point of obstructing decided policy. I am told at the White House that his dissents were frequently delivered on order when he was Under Secretary, whether or not Ball really differed with prevailing or proposed policy, and this of course was a perfectly proper use of his talents.

George Ball is a professional advocate, an international lawyer who draws here upon his experience of more than 30 years "near the center and on the periphery of foreign policy on both sides of the Atlantic." Now that he is back in official wraps, serving as a presidential adviser before he replaces Arthur Goldberg at the United Nations, what he has said in this book is bound to be compared with what he says for the Administration, and that is too bad in a way. It becomes harder than it perhaps should be, for example, to take seriously the critical observations of an author-statesman who says, at the Senate committee hearing on his latest appointment, that his acrid analysis of our China policy is "not really at variance with the views that have been expressed by the President and members of the Administration." His scalding account of our Vietnam involvement, and his low estimate of Vietnam's actual importance to the United States, lose much of their force when the author, speaking again as the President's advocate and adviser, strikes a note very different from the one that he strikes in his book. We should know by now, I suppose, that officials in our day do not quit for a cause. (Adlai Stevenson died minutes after affirming his support of a policy he was widely understood to dislike; Arthur Goldberg is retiring from his ambassadorship without audible complaint.) But I must say, with due respect for George Ball and before getting to the meat of his book, that an occasional resignation for the sake of principle would improve the Washington scene and deter, or maybe even prevent, errors of conception and judgment of the kind that he cites and bemoans.

The book in the main is what the author says it is: not a memoir, not a shot at his official friends from private ambush, not (except marginally) a critique of past policy, but "a book of argument" – an inquiry into "how free men can use their power in a rational way." In it, Ball is more concerned with "the political organization of power" and with "desirable structures of power" than he is with the policies to be applied through the structures. The core of his argument, indeed, is that a successful policy is impossible without the clear definitions of interest, the intelligently determined priorities of risk and effort, that in his view occur only when the possessors of power operate through properly conceived structures of power. A foreign policy conducted without proper structures "is not a foreign policy at all but simply a series of unrelated improvisations." Lacking adequate structures, the United States has suffered in the formulation and conduct of its foreign policy from an indiscriminate diffusion of effort and resources. "The depressing conflict in Vietnam," Ball writes, "is the dead end of such universalism." He does not conclude that US policy has failed because of the lack that he holds to be fatal in theory. On the contrary, "we have done reasonably well," and "there is no historical precedent for the generosity of our policy." From now on, however, we must do better and to do it we must find "a satisfactory rationale for the use of American power and resources" through "a better Western power structure" – a structure that can provide "the basis and beginning of a rational world." And there we have it;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the former Undersecretary of State writes of "structures" in the plural, but he is fascinated and preoccupied with one structure. In the parts that evidently matter most to its author, this book represents a return by George Ball to "the yeasty years . . . the golden years of the great European initiatives." They were the years when he worked, as an official and as a consulting attorney, with Jean Monnet ("one of the towering figures of the age"), Robert Schuman, Robert Marjolin to bring into being a Western Europe so unified, politically and economically, that it could function in the world as "a third superpower . . . a second Western great power, capable of sharing with the United States the burdens and decisions of the West in a way the individual European nations can never do." Ball concedes that other structures might serve the necessities of ordered power, but he does not define alternatives and "on balance this one seems the best and most realistic for all the nations concerned." The European nations concerned are principally the old imperial powers, now shorn of their overseas possessions and therefore, in Ball's opinion, without either the incentive of concrete national interest or the means to do much in or about the rest of the world. Only the two existent super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have the incentive and means. They are doomed to continued confrontation around the world until and unless the "third super-power" latent in Western Europe arises with a capacity to share the dangers and responsibilities and so become "a cushioning component."

Ball is more convincing in his argument that a unified and powerful European structure is desirable than he is in his assertion that it is attainable. For him, "the goal of Europe as the world's third great power is an act of logic and optimism – almost an act of faith." He says that it "derives from an attempt to rethink in structural terms the dangers and dilemmas of modern power and its implicit threats of mass death," eliding the fact that his devotion to "the European idea" originated before the nuclear monster was born. He acknowledges that his faith in eventual European union requires "the assumption that Europeans have the desire and the will" to achieve it and he is convinced that they do. A desire for it, for a "return to the world stage" on terms that only union would make possible, "is the inarticulate theme in all that I have heard from my European friends and acquaintances for two decades." Europe's failure so far to move substantially from economic to political union is attributed to transient factors rather than to any basic aversion to the surrender of national identity and autonomy. The Korean War and the first moves to rearm western Germany halted progress toward political unity in 1950. The constitutional infirmities of the Fourth French Republic aborted the European Defense Community in 1954. Ball depicts the great obstructor of supranational union, General de Gaulle, with mingled sorrow and affection as a mistaken genius who, but for his aberrant nationalism, "could well have been the first president of some early form of European state." As for Ball's "brave but ill-starred" idea for a Multilateral Force, which he and some of his State Department colleagues vainly tried to sell in the early 1960s as a step toward both strategic and political unification, "the core of the difficulty was that President Kennedy never made up his mind that [it] was a good thing." Because of "President Kennedy's dubiety," never publicly expressed but reflected in Washington news stories, European officialdom concluded that "it was not a serious initiative but a tactic designed to confuse and deflect European nuclear ambitions." Ball never discusses President Johnson with equal detachment.

The catalogue of benefits to be gained from a super-Europe is so ample and pervasive – it figures in literally every solution suggested – that a sense of obsession is conveyed. Ball's failure to deal in the slightest with the forms his European structure would take enhances the impression. Apparently such mundane detail is, for him, no more necessary than an architect's blueprint of heaven is for other true believers. A unified Europe is diminished Britain's only hope; Britons have "no other place to go" and a good thing, too, since their participation is essential to a strong Europe. In and only in a united Europe, divided Germany might be made whole with its aggressive drives so redirected and "sublimated" that its western neighbors and the Soviet Union would accept it. Organized "on a scale large enough to permit it to think as a superpower and to face responsibilities of world scope," this newly structured Europe would be neither tied to the United States nor oriented against the Soviet Union. It could even, "at the end of a long road," lead to "the eventual voluntary accession of the Russians in a single community of powers." In the meantime it would be "our mature good friend, giving us from time to time sound advice, bringing to world councils its own insights, agreeing or disagreeing as the case may be, but acting always from the same larger purposes that it shares with us, while – to borrow a favorite word of General de Gaulle's – expressing its own 'personality'." In such passages, Ball sounds as if he had borrowed everything except his philosophy from General de Gaulle.

Super-Europe would also, and this is one of Ball's more persuasive points, promote by example a calmer approach

FOR SALE
DEADLY WEAPONS
ALL SIZES & SHAPES.
Special attention to the needs of guerillas and ambitious dictators. All inquiries treated with strictest confidence. Our government knows of this offer.
Read THE WEAPONS MERCHANTS and get the whole shocking story of arms and the men who supply them for today's revolutions, coups, and border wars. It's told by the top European newspaperman who personally uncovered the individuals and the governments that are secretly making millions from traffic in deadly weapons. Illustrated.
THE WEAPONS MERCHANTS
Small Wars—Big Profits
By BERNT ENGELMANN
Translated by Erica Detto
$4.95, now at your bookstore
CROWN

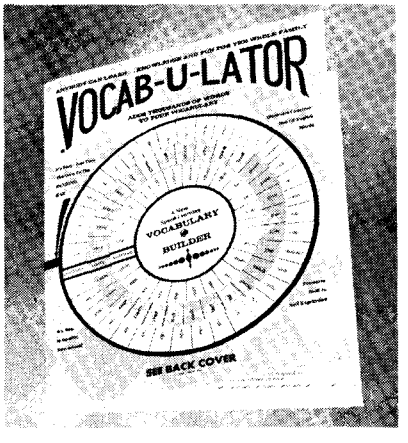
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than the United States has usually taken toward Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Ball deals with them in the context of a world which he divides for policy purposes into a Northern Zone and a Southern Zone. North America, Europe, the Soviet Union and Japan comprise his Northern Zone (with Latin America marginally included, because of its proximity and our special relationships with it). His industrialized North is where most of the power and the danger lie. Therefore "a sense of priority dictates that we regard our vital interests – things that touch our very life and existence – as most heavily concentrated in the world's north temperate zone." Between it and the rest of the world in the "peripheral" Southern Zone, "we should make a crucial conceptual distinction in our foreign policy." The recommended distinction is that what happens in the Northern Zone is much more important and can be much more dangerous to the US than anything likely to happen in the backward South. Neither India nor mainland China, despite their vast populations, "is remotely likely to achieve global power status within the next generation, which is as long as any social prophet can decently assert his prescience." Ball laughs at Americans (he forbears to mention Secretary Rusk) who "still twitch at each wild flailing of the dragon's tail and particularly at any fresh evidence that the dragon might some day acquire nuclear teeth." China's "egregious international manners" have caused her to be seen as "the menace of the future" when in fact her "nuclear capability, large armies and mass-labor methods are no substitutes for the advanced technology, the high level of industrialization and gross national product, that alone give a nation the means to feed its people and menace the world." Ball recognizes that other Asian nations may consider that China's nuclear power, however limited, menaces them, and we must "put their fears to rest." How? Not by trying to "contain" China with land armies in Asia (though Ball says elsewhere that we must be prepared to keep sizable forces in Southeast Asia for a long time). We must do it "by establishing that, if China uses her nuclear weapons against her non-nuclear neighbors, we will use ours against her." This is one of the many conflicts with Ball's general thesis that mainland Asia and particularly southern Asia, including Vietnam, are "peripheral" areas of American concern, which thoroughly confuse this reader and suggest that Ball is confused himself when he turns from Europe to the Far East. After tracing our Far Eastern plight back to Wilsonian "universalism" and indicting John Foster Dulles for excessive application of that doctrine in his postwar security alliances, Ball meanders to the conclusion that:

> "Certainly to announce that we were planning to remove our presence from the Asian mainland and to phase out our security assurance to the nations in Northeast and Southeast Asia would be demoralizing for them and an open invitation to the Chinese to extend their dominion. Thus it is difficult to see how – except cautiously and by unavowed action over a long period of time, we could revise our Pacific policy [along lines recommended by Walter Lippmann, whom Ball is answering here] so as to recognize Chinese spheres of influence even if we thought it prudent to do so. Nor would I favor such a policy even if we thought it prudent to adopt it. . . ."

The quoted passage makes elemental sense to this reviewer, but it comes ill from one who in the same chapter questions and derides the policy premises which are implicit in it. Ball's account of our fall into "the troubled morass of Vietnam," and of his admittedly hesitant and qualified efforts to slow the Johnson escalation in and after 1964, is similarly disquieting. He holds that the involvement has resulted from a gross overestimate of Vietnam's importance to American security and from a basic miscalculation of the power factors at work there ("the war in South Vietnam did not result from

VOCAB-U-LATOR



If you are a teacher, businessman, writer, student, or a parent, THE VOCABULATOR could be of great use and value to you, especially from the standpoint of greater success and higher grades.

Therefore, we are making this introductory offer to send you a VOCABULATOR from our limited 1st edition.

Please mail your name, address and check for ONLY $3.50, and your VOCABULATOR will be sent POSTPAID at once.

The VOCABULATOR is the best new device developed in the past FIFTY YEARS as a SPEED METHOD FOR INCREASING ONE'S VOCABULARY.

VOCABULATOR has 3 independently rotating wheels, one each for PREFIXES, ROOTS, AND SUFFIXES, and by simply turning these wheels and lining up the various word elements you can put together thousands of different words of the English Vocabulary.

Inside the VOCABULATOR you will find the definitions of PREFIXES, ROOTS, AND SUFFIXES, and by knowing the definitions of these various word elements, you would automatically then know the definitions of complete words.

USES:

- Especially indispensable to TEACHERS, WRITERS, PUBLIC SPEAKERS, and STUDENTS, as it would immediately expand their use of words.
- The VOCABULATOR has already proven itself in the classroom for effectively increasing the students use of words and knowledge.
- Recommended before the SOUTHWEST CONFERENCE OF READING INSTRUCTORS as an important study device for students of the fifth grade and right up through their college years.
- When used in conjunction with the dictionary it makes the dictionary's use much more productive and meaningful.

THE VOCABULATOR has been USED and RECOMMENDED by OUTSTANDING EDUCATORS from nationally known institutions such as:

- SOUTHWEST CONFERENCE OF READING INSTRUCTORS
- THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION
- THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
- SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE COLLEGE
- PIERCE COLLEGE IN LOS ANGELES

AND MANY OTHERS.

THE STEVEN LEWIS COMPANY | 6565 Sunset Blvd. Hollywood, California 90028

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chinese expansion but from Tonkinese imperialism. . . . It is a fight against this willful and cruel Tonkinese [Hanoi] Communist faction for a limited objective – to keep South Vietnam from falling under its control; and we should never lose sight of that limited objective"). But there is a note of confused and helpless submission to events in his observation that:

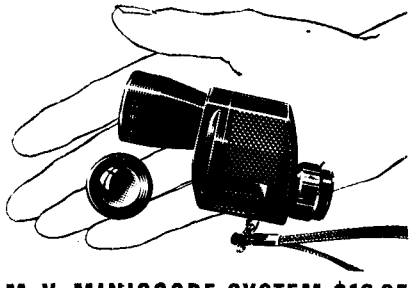
> "What our experience in Vietnam has taught is that there is clearly a point of no return beyond which national options tend to fade and disappear. Once America passed beyond that point in Vietnam, her only course was to go forward; otherwise, she would have disclosed her weakness rather than demonstrated her strength – and this could have had serious political consequences all over the world."

Ball writes with scorn of our long labor to exclude Communist China from the United Nations and to "perpetuate the myth" that Nationalist China *is* China. But he never brings himself to say that we should reverse the policy and his recent public statements indicate that, as Ambassador to the UN, he will play without complaint the "mendicant" role which he deplores in his book if he is ordered to line up votes against Peking's admission this fall.

Ball's overall point is not that we should ignore the nations within his southern periphery. In concert with his restructured and invigorated Europe, when and if it comes into being, and relying upon industrialized Japan as our favored and focal ally in Asia, we should expect to share with poorer countries there and elsewhere more of our skills and resources than we do now. But we would do well to pursue "a less anxious policy" toward many of them. Very few of them lie in areas where the world "balance of power" is really affected by their allegiances. If some of the smaller ones "do undertake experiments with Communism," why worry? "For the life of me," Ball writes, "I cannot see why we would be endangered by a Communist regime in Mali or Brazzaville or Burundi; its most likely effect would be to cost Moscow or Peking some money." This attitude is refreshing, but it wears thin when it extends to cracks about alarmist dispatches from "some distant capital with a name like a typographical error." Although he denies any shortage of compassion for people anywhere, Ball writes of the weaker countries of the globe as if they rather annoy him and the attitude carries over, by implication, into his sparse references to their forum, the United Nations, for which he never displayed a high regard before he was appointed our Ambassador to it. He bows briefly to the UN as "an essential instrument of peace," but in his evident estimation it is not and is not likely to become one of his "desirable structures of power."

Speaking of structures and lacks, *The Discipline of Power* appears without an index. It is an atrocious omission.

Hold The World In Your Palm..with



M. V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM $16.95

So startlingly different are the design and performance of the M.V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM that you won't really believe it until you see it and use it yourself. ■ With its standard objective the M.V. is an 8x, wide-angle (8.2°), 24mm monocular telescope—more powerful than most field glasses and binoculars. For an even larger field, just quick-change objectives and you have a 6x, super-wide-angle (11°), 18mm telescope. ■ The prismatic, fully coated optics are of the same uncompromising quality that you expect from the finest Japanese cameras—crispness, brilliance and complete planarity. ■ As an added bonus, the objectives may be used as 3x and 5x wide-field magnifier/loupes, of unexcelled definition and clarity. ■ Weight 3¾ ozs., length only 3½". Comes with handstrap and soft, flat, zippered case that fits snugly in gentleman's pocket or lady's purse.

☐ Send the MIYAUCHI M.V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM w/case & exchange objectives. Satisfaction, or refund guaranteed. Check for $16.95 plus $1 for post. & ins. encl. (Calif. resid. add 5% tax.)

Name_____

Address_____

_____ Zip_____

584 Washington St., San Francisco, 94111 (415) 981-5688 haverhill's

TNR 0615

An Uncommon Pursuit

by Clarence Brown

That critics should concentrate upon the literature of their own language is scarcely a novelty. But that a critic of Leavis' eminence, scope, and productivity should systematically exclude all reference to any foreign writer is remarkable. In the checklist of his works covering the period 1924-1964 there is hardly a title that betrays an interest in any writer who is not English or American ("Dostoevsky or Dickens?" turns out to be a review of Faulkner's *Light in August*), nor does a search of his criticism itself turn up much contrary evidence. To speak of this as a limitation is merely to acknowledge that limitation is what comes with all the virtues of concentration, and it is, at any rate, a limitation severely and deliberately self-imposed. No doubt Leavis, who has emulated in so many respects his most obvious preceptor in English criticism, Matthew Arnold, did not wish to follow the master into such absurdities as, for example, writing in 1887 that "the Russians have not yet had a great poet" (Pushkin died in 1837). That – tellingly enough, I think – is from Arnold's single essay on a novelist – also Tolstoy and also, as it chances, *Anna Karenina*. Leavis is more cautious, more aware of his limited ability to generalize about an unfamiliar field, and characteristically restricts himself to the work at hand, thus keeping to a minimum the little infelicities (such as misspelling Astapovo or calling a countess by her middle name) that give the foreigner away.

Anna Karenina and Other Essays
by F. R. Leavis
(Pantheon; $5.95)

Anna Karenina has occupied Leavis at some length before.

In *D. H. Lawrence: Novelist* (1955) there is an epilogue ("Note: Being an Artist") which deals in detail with one episode in the novel, Vronsky's doomed attempt, after he and Anna have run

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

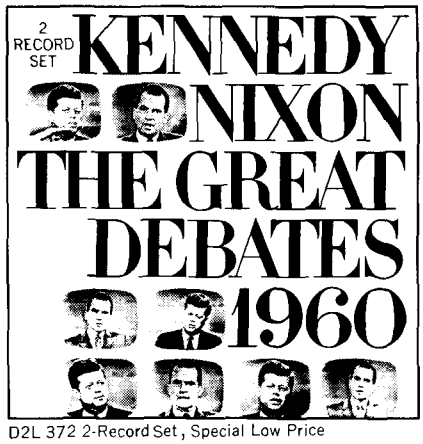
away to Italy, to become a painter. It is certainly true, as Leavis maintains, that the story has a clear parabolic significance, and he makes very skillful forensic use of the lesson it has to offer. There is Vronsky, the aristocratic dabbler who believes that "being an artist" is merely a matter of acquiring certain techniques; Golenishchev, an art critic of the same class who encourages Vronsky in this view because he requires Vronsky's approbation of his criticism in return; and finally Mikhaylov, the genuine creative artist, whose portrait of Anna has a strange hold on the others though their ideas can never explain its power. He is also mute on the subject of art and is hurt and embarrassed by the assured volubility of those, like Vronsky and Golenishchev, who rule the world of art. Anyone familiar with Leavis' views will easily distribute the available roles. Lawrence is the unacknowledged genuine artist, and the others represent the awful symbiosis of T. S. Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Lord David Cecil, the British Council, the Third Programme, etc., etc.

In spite, therefore, of the singularly national restrictions that he has placed upon his career, it is not so astonishing to note that Leavis has now produced a full-scale essay on this particular Russian novel. What is astonishing is his conclusion. Leavis has nominated *Anna Karenina* the supreme novel of modern civilization. One cannot believe that he would mean this superlative to be taken any other way than quite literally, and the reason for this lies in another of the peculiar concentrations of his long career. His energies have been beset with extraordinary singleness of purpose towards one goal: to identify *the* tradition that is viable, fructifying, and – to use a word beloved by both Arnold and Leavis – central. His major works have been major precisely for the forthrightness with which he has been willing to select those writers and books that define, for him, the essential continuing line of development in English poetry (*New Bearings in English Poetry* and *Revaluation*) and prose (*The Great Tradition*, of which the book on Lawrence is meant to be a continuation). Writing is good, bad, or beneath notice depending upon whether it contributes to, retards, or has nothing to do with the tradition. Implicit in all this is the notion that the tradition is a channel for advancement, for progress, to give it a name that is by no means incompatible with Leavis' temper of mind. The business of the critic is to identify the masterpieces that define the stations of the tradition. Should he not therefore, at the summit of his career, identify the culmination of the tradition, the end point of that line he has been following with such fixity, *the* masterpiece? It is *Anna Karenina!*

This late intelligence from one of the most beleaguered headquarters in contemporary criticism is not only surprising but a little depressing. One can't help feeling the loss in Leavis' not having devoted more of his discriminating attention to the Russian 19th century. It would seem to be the natural home for a critic with his interests and proclivities. The massive moral and social commitment of Goncharov, Turgenev (in his novels), Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy – to say nothing of their emphatic realism, the only mode that really interests Leavis at all – would have been, one feels, the perfect object of his scrutiny, just as Levin, that rural eccentric with his anguished ethical collidings against the modern world, seems, in *Anna Karenina*, a heaven-sent hero for Leavis' frank admiration.

That he might have written on this subject with great authority and relevance, born out of his basic sympathies, seems to me to have been corroborated by an extraordinary instance of roughly simultaneous and independent insight into the character of Levin which Leavis shares with the Russian Yury Olesha. Olesha, known abroad chiefly for his novel *Envy* (1927), left in his diary some of the most acute remarks about Russian literature that I have ever read. One of them has to do with Levin. Why, he asks, did Tolstoy not complete this character by making him a writer? "It turns out that he is simply a stubborn man, full of mischief, an *enfant terrible* – which, by the way, Tolstoy himself would have been had he not been a writer. Sometimes Levin seems to be in love with himself, sometimes simply stupid. . . . All this results from his not being a writer." Levin does

Kennedy vs. Nixon The greatest debate on record.



D2L 372 2-Record Set, Special Low Price

The fall of 1960 opened a new era in presidential campaigning.

For the first time in history, two major candidates for the Executive office appeared before TV cameras to publicly debate the issues of the day.

John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. Side by side. Face to face. Miles apart.

As the men discussed the problems, the people discussed the men. Over 74,000,000 people. They soon forgot what was said; but they didn't forget who said it.

They remembered that Mr. Nixon looked a bit drawn and tired. That Mr. Kennedy's smile was infectious, his vigor overwhelming.

Relive all the dramatic highlights of "The Great Debates" in this distinctive two-record set.

It's history worth repeating.

On COLUMBIA RECORDS®

® "COLUMBIA" MARCAS REG. PRINTED IN U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of course attract Leavis enormously: he is the focus of what is called, rather opaquely, "the deep, spontaneous, lived question." Whatever that may mean, I am struck by the English critic's echo of Olesha in observing "that Levin is *not* a great novelist" and that "it is an essential difference." It is indeed an essential difference, and I think that Leavis' recognizing this (independently, I am sure, of Olesha) demonstrates his profound intuition of what "being a writer" meant and means in Russia.

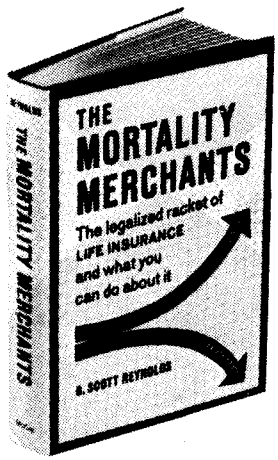
The other essays in the book have all appeared in periodicals and deal with the writers and themes that Leavis has made his own: Bunyan, James, Conrad, T. S. Eliot, and – his supreme subject – D. H. Lawrence, whose name occurs obsessively throughout the book. They are minor things when compared with the study of *Anna Karenina*, and there is something distinctly unpleasant about the impression they make. Leavis has always been a figure of controversy, always in hot water and always dishing it out. No one who has ever been subjected to the more platitudinous efforts of his old and still functioning enemies could deny that he has often been amply provoked. But we can't be blamed for wanting a little more of the largemindedness evident in the preface to a much better collection of his essays, *The Common Pursuit*, where the title, he says, refers to the inevitably collaborative nature of all critical effort – disagreement, too, being a kind of collaboration. The present book is marred not so much by disagreement as by malice, which, when it gets completely out of hand, is petty and distracting. And it undermines the confidence one may have in the judgment behind the better parts of the essay. At its worst, this defect hints at some radical imbalance of sympathy and perception. Leavis often points to this or that trivial blemish in his victim and asks, in effect, "Given *this* fault, what possible virtue can there be?" Thus, in the essay " 'Lawrence Scholarship' and Lawrence," Harry T. Moore is found to have erred catastrophically in *dedicating* his edition of Lawrence's letters to three men of whom Leavis disapproves. "And we are contemplating a familiar kind of irony," he writes, "when we reflect that no one at all intelligent about what makes Lawrence truly a classic and a writer worth devoted study could have put that dedication in front of a body of intimate Laurentian text." Surely one thrust of this kind would have made the point, if there is a point to be made, but Dr. Leavis goes on and on. It is not so much the unseemliness that puts one off as the utter irrelevance.

At this late date there seems little point in repeating the usual objections (though I share them) to his terms. One either does or does not hold the conviction that "life," "human centrality," and other such incessant refrains from Leavis' pages are meaningful elements of critical discourse. His failure to define his terms or even to provide the wherewithal for others to do so is not an oversight. It is a deliberate procedure, explicitly de-

The legalized racket of Life Insurance and what you can do about it

The Mortality Merchants

by G. Scott Reynolds



A lot of so-called "benefits" in your life-insurance policy go straight into the pockets of the industry. This book, by a licensed insurance-investment broker, tells you how to beat the life-insurance companies at their own game — pay a lot less, get a lot more protection.

"Deserves to be widely read and pondered . . . clarifies the issues and adds to the consumers' range of informal choice."—SENATOR PAUL H. DOUGLAS $4.95

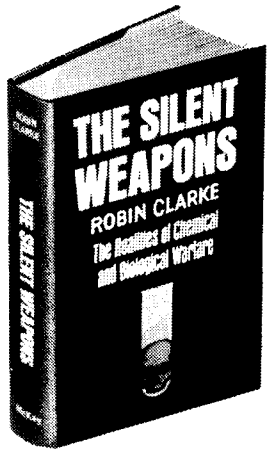
McKAY

The Realities of Chemical and Biological Warfare

The Silent Weapons

by Robin Clarke

In World War I, the use of poison gases scandalized the world. Now, in this book, a British science editor makes it chillingly clear that the major powers have today the know-how—and the secret lethal equipment—to contaminate the air we breathe and incapacitate or kill all who breathe it. *The Silent Weapons* shows that today's scientists are producing in test tubes an arsenal of weapons whose potential destructiveness rivals that of The Bomb. In addition to giving the facts, Mr. Clarke raises disturbing moral questions concerning the "silent weapons." $4.95



DAVID McKAY COMPANY, INC.
New York, N. Y. 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fended by Leavis in many places. In the essay on *The Pilgrim's Progress* we read, for instance, that the "something positive" in Bunyan's world is "the concern, intense and profound, for what, talking loosely, as we *have* to talk (for no precision is possible), we speak of as the 'meaning of life'." For all his vaunted bond to the text in front of him, the real object of his attention is how the text relates to the hazy grandeur summed up in that phrase. The rejection of all system – tending at times, in these later things, towards the rejection of coherence itself – is a part of the prized rawness of response from which it is expected that the sense of life in the work will be more surely apprehended. The style itself is raw and headlong. The full title of the first essay is "Anna Karenina: Thought and Significance in a Great Creative Work" – an unkempt and leggy banality. One feels that if Bloomsbury had not on the whole written so well, Leavis would not have felt compelled to write so badly. For the impression to be made is emphatically the antithesis of that other impression: the hypersensitive, too precise, hothouse-orchid febrility that found Lawrence uncouth. Still, a man whose career began at a time when Arnold Bennett, in a weekly book column that could make and break reputations, proposed D. H. Lawrence and R. H. Mottram as "the two real British geniuses of the new age" ought to have our sympathy as he goes on making lists – "Tolstoy, Lawrence, Shakespeare . . ." – with equally desperate prospects before them.

Freud and the Freudians

by Donald M. Kaplan

In his account of the early days of psychoanalysis Vincent Brome invites us to board a very leaky ship. This is a pity, because Brome was on to one of the great stories of the century.

Danger is evident at the very outset, when Brome challenges Ernest Jones' leviathan biography of Freud. "This is an attempt," he prefaces his own book, "to spell out the personal struggles of

Freud and His Early Circle
by Vincent Brome
(Morrow; $5)

the early pioneers of psychoanalysis. Ernest Jones, in his excellent biography of Freud, gave an account of some episodes, but he did not explore the evidence in detail" – preposterous statement to anyone who has gone through Jones' three-volume study.

Brome enumerates sources he claims were either unavailable to Jones or ignored by him, such as the recently published Abraham-Freud correspondence. But that correspondence *was* available to Jones, and he did rely on it heavily. Brome's claim to priority in the use of two rare documents relating to the Freud-Fleiss episode, a booklet by Fleiss himself and another by a certain Richard Pfenning, is also spurious. Jones used both, as did Ernst Kris in his brilliant preface to the Freud-Fleiss letters, a preface Jones also referred to in his painstaking chapter on the Fleiss affair. As for Jung's *Memories, Dreams and Reflections*, a personal account of the early group around Freud which appeared in 1963, it was assuredly unavailable to Jones, who died in 1957. Brome's assertion that this "counterbalances all previous evidence" is curious, inasmuch as his own subsequent narrative shows Jung as an opportunist and a windbag who, in his best moments, was merely specious.

The story Brome tries to tell picks up Freud's career around the turn of the century, when his stupendous relationship with Wilhelm Fleiss was going to pieces. It reveals Freud in an interpersonal plight that was to be repeated several more times. The uncritical and uncomprehending admiration Freud lavished on Fleiss – a third-rate mind dispensing half-baked theories – he was later to bestow on Adler, Stekel and Jung among the would-be disciples who gravitated toward him in the early 1900s. The story of Freud's early circle is not one of the defection

Urban
o o
crisis...

the enduring tradition of American privatism

THE PRIVATE CITY
Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth
by Sam Bass Warner, Jr.

Why Philadelphia? Because its inheritance and its failures typify the growth and decay of all American urban areas. Warner's three Philadelphias —1770-1780, 1830-1869, 1920-1930—carry the history of a city from the founding of the nation to the eve of the collapse of the national private economy. His second Philadelphia, 1830-1860, is the turning point in American urban history—the era when the big city and the American tradition of privatism first confronted each other, the time when the communitarian limits of a city of private moneymakers were reached—and passed. *New and Vital.*
$4.95

FOUR CITIES
A Study in Comparative Policy Making
by Oliver P. Williams and Charles R. Adrian. **$6.00**

SUBURBAN DIFFERENCES AND METROPOLITAN POLICIES
A Philadelphia Story
by Oliver P. Williams, et al. **$6.00**

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA PRESS Philadelphia 19104

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of disciples as much as of the awakening of social responsibility in a genius previously isolated in creative ferment and achievement. Jung, for example, was no defector, for he was never truly psychoanalytic to begin with. Even his earliest comments and writings are devoid of that elegant theory of mind which Freud proposed in the final chapter of *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Nor did Jung ever understand the difference between sex and sexuality, something crucial to Freud's intellectual program.

Thus, while Freud indulged in fantasies about Jung, the latter ascended to the presidency of the newly-formed International Psychoanalytic Association, a position he held for three years. The patent irreconcilability of Jung's political position with Freud's and their differences on clinical and theoretical matters ended Freud's hopes for the younger man. Pained, angered, bewildered, he took pen in hand and literally wrote Jung off. *On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement*, which Freud published in 1914, remains one of the most inspired polemics in literature. Freud emerged from it resolute in his intellectual paternity. Psychoanalysis was his child, and if it was not to become a monster of the century, it needed more of his supervision than he originally had thought. Karl Abraham, about whom there were no doubts on any score, succeeded Jung in the presidency of the International. Adler, Stekel and Jung went their separate ways.

Though Freud's problems with his colleagues were not over, they were of a different kind after this. Otto Rank and Sandor Ferenczi were to create a new crisis, Ferenczi's innovations in technique becoming an especially grave matter, a source of ineradicable sores in the psychoanalytic body.

But Brome misses his chance to tell this story. One of the reasons is the decision to tackle Jones rather than the subject itself. It was no fault of Jones', for example, that many of Freud's early disciples were highly neurotic (the evidence in connection with Rank and Ferenczi is overwhelming). The evidence Brome presents from Clara Thompson on Ferenczi's sanity sounds rather forced, particularly in the light of the fact that she was Ferenczi's patient, something Brome conceals. Besides this, her testimony contradicts that of Abraham, whose clinical judgment Brome finds praiseworthy. But this is the point: Jones never suggested that disagreement with Freud was a mark of a disciple's insanity. No Freudian raises a question about the sanity of Karen Horney, Melanie Klein, Abram Kardiner or Franz Alexander, however far these people drifted from Freudian doctrine.

Nor did Jones conceal or gloss over Freud's shortcomings, as Brome says he did. A vivid instance was Jones' disclosure that he once referred a patient to Freud and added in his letter about her the confidential information that she was a morphine addict. Having asked Freud to wait for the patient to come forward with this herself, he was appalled to learn that Freud had promptly read his letter to the woman. If Freud was a bit of a blabbermouth, a sympathetic presentation of this quality isn't necessarily a distortion.

But Brome confuses detraction with humanization, and he almost stands on his head to "humanize" Jones' heroic portrait. To take a major instance, Freud's sexual life has remained a mystery and, as such, a source of gossipy conjecture. Can such conjecture be stretched, as Brome does, to build a case for Freud's latent homosexuality out of the fact that he "failed to respond erotically to any woman except his wife"?

I wonder whether the noticeable deterioration of Brome's prose as the book grinds on does not betray his loss of confidence in the scattered directions of his undertaking. One example of this opaque writing: "Twenty-one years Freud's junior, unlike Abraham's, Ferenczi's career was not a steady, rising curve of success. Temperamentally opposites, the two men followed different paths, but Ferenczi found it hard to believe that Abraham, a man born to be president of what-

George F. Kennan

From Prague After Munich

Diplomatic Papers, 1938-1940
Epilogue by Frederick G. Heymann

C. 1940

When Germany occupied Czechoslovakia, most Western observers left; George Kennan stayed on. His diplomatic papers, letters, and notes from Prague illuminate fully a period discussed in his Pulitzer Prize-winning *Memoirs*. With profound insight he conveys the political and personal effects on Czechoslovakia of Munich and the German occupation.

$6.50 at bookstores

Princeton University Press
Princeton, N. J. 08540

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ever intellectual group he joined, was as Balint put it, 'unswervingly fair'."

Who has read Robert Jungk's *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns*? I can't imagine anyone who has read it being able to forget it, though it has been ten years since Jungk published his history of the atomic scientists and the making of the atom bomb – another great story of the century. Despite its partisanship and several factual errors, that's the sort of book Brome might have taken for a model and rivalled in his own work, had he not got caught up in the petty contentions of the current psychoanalytic movement.

To the Dispossessed

by Stanley Moss

After Experience, continuing W. D. Snodgrass' first book, *The Heart's Needle*, is a work of musical splendor. Snodgrass is a tragic poet who has fashioned some kind of beast, alive and festered, not just a book. He seems most himself when he is satanic. No God hunter, he does not hope to call God out by reverse conjuring or by cursing him. But, in half a dozen

After Experience
by W. D. Snodgrass
(Harper & Row; $4.95)

poems he upsets, and means to, with cruelty after cruelty, with princely evil he attacks himself, the reader, the world, eliminating everything but a new "outlawed Good."

> And you whiner, who waste your time
> Dawdling over the remorseless earth,
> What evil, what unspeakable crime
> Have you made your life worth?

If the passage reminds us of Baudelaire, and Rimbaud's demanding "a crime quick," and Dostoevsky's crime "to provoke God to declare himself," it is because Snodgrass continues that work.

T. S. Eliot observed that Baudelaire's satanism, insofar as it was not an affectation, was an attempt to enter Christianity "by the back door." Inevitably a poem entitled "The Men's Room in the College Chapel" is the only one in *After Experience* which is given a religious setting. It is a helpful but minor piece, a slip of the tongue beside some of the important poems.

Although he intends a secular and worldly poetry, Snodgrass has driven into his temple characters usually outcast and unforgiven. He has found place for emotions felt, but previously left without words and out of consciousness. He has identified himself with exquisite suffering and guilt and with all those who barely manage to exist on the edge of life. (He even plays a grotesque love scene with Eichmann.) Read in this light he is a religious poet. But, like the apple in the garden, some of Snodgrass' initiations leave us with a bad taste in the mouth.

"The Platform Man," a poem concerned with a legless man on a dolly in front of a five-and-ten-cent store, straddles the book. It is the one poem in *After Experience* in which the world's tragedy and Snodgrass' own are made one. After examining the crippled man,

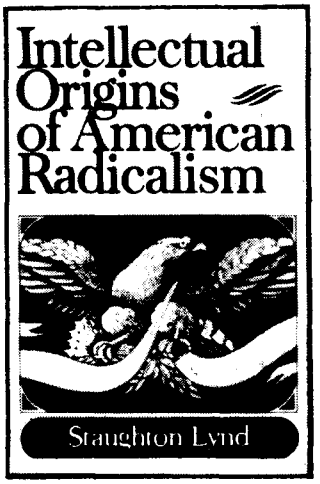
> His stare level with my
> Stare, when I was a child.

the poet walls in the cripple with those who speak from other platforms and lecterns offering their "spectacular handicaps." Snodgrass finishes the great poem with a pun lodged soundly in a passage hard as marble:

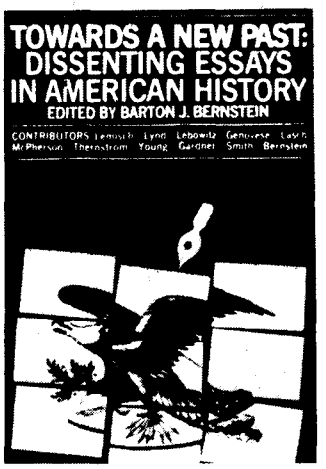
> I'd travel light: take nothing
> Free and give no quarter.
> The curse is far from done
> When they've taken your daughter;
> They can take your son.

Snodgrass' justly celebrated poem, "The Operation," from his first book, has already, for better or worse, estab-

Add these to the important literature of dissent



Lynd tries to find the link between the revolutionary ideas of the American past and those of the present. $4.95



The second Pantheon Anti-Textbook. "Many of the new facts and ideas the 11 young authors have discovered contribute significantly to historical understanding." — JOHN A. GARRATY, front page, *N.Y. Times Book Review* $6.95

now at your bookstore
PANTHEON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished a genre. "The Flat One" which I saw in an earlier version in the old *New World Writing*, introduced the long-dying patient; here are all the clamps, gadgets and emotions with which we hold onto him and push him away.

In an essay on *Crime and Punishment* published about the time he began work on this poem, Snodgrass pointed out that "To Dostoevsky those characters who are sick and handicapped . . . seem to be specially Godly and blessed. The crushing hand of God has already been laid upon them; they have received His attention, accepted suffering . . . in advance . . . and so are blessed!"

Snodgrass is often drawn to creatures and objects on the furthest margins of their world: dying, mutilated beggars, lobsters on ice in a restaurant window, a first leaf. Similarly, he likes to move to the far borders of meaning and syntax. Part of the excitement and strain of reading him comes from his efforts to get out of the poem. He changes his mind, tries to get into the world as it is, out of the metaphysical, symbolist poem in which he is trapped by his temperament and the tradition of which he is part. Addressing himself to the dying man, not worth his haddock or his grilled tomato, suffering prolonged torture, he says:

Men starve. How many young
men did we rob
To keep you hanging on?

No poet now writing looks at the "sad hospital" of the world with such a continuous stare.

Occasionally Snodgrass chooses to travel into the world through the tunnel of art. There is a group of poems on life seen in much reproduced French paintings: Matisse's "The Red Studio," Van Gogh's "Starry Night," Manet's "Execution of Maximilian." These poems on painting, except for that on Monet's "Les Nympheas," are poetic descriptions, sometimes dramatic, but essentially tiring virtuoso performances. "Les Nympheas" describes the water-lilies – what is almost not there – a fine, abstract, Debussy-like piece. Another beautifully composed poem on a plaster replica of the Aphrodite of Melos almost finds joy.

The book is haunted by poems on the division of families, the loss of a daughter in divorce, the shoddiness of love, the mementoes of his own true-to-life love story. There is a little Anna Karenina in every man. Snodgrass has found the proper forms for Strindbergian warfare and armistice. He can handle material in poetry usually reserved for the novel or the film. Should what is better said in poetry be left to film, even a very good one? To my mind, Snodgrass' 28-line poem, "A Friend," on the pangs of a divorced father's visiting rights, outweighs a dozen new-wave films. And Snodgrass works on such a low budget. Here are 14 cinematographic lines:

Once they're in bed, he calls you
"dear."
The boob-tube shows some hokum
on
Adultery and loss; we yawn
Over a stale joke book and beer
Till it's your bedtime. I must leave.
I watch that squat toad pluck your
sleeve.
As always, you stand shining near

Your window. I stand, Prince of
Lies
Who's seen bliss; now I can drive
back
Home past wreck and car lot, past
shack
Slum and steelmill reddening the
skies,
Past drive-ins the hot pits where
our teens
Fingerfuck and that huge screen's
Image fill their vacant eyes.

The book concludes with some splendid translations from Rilke, de Nerval, Hugo and Rimbaud, among others. Snodgrass often manages to find poems to translate with themes that parallel his own. In the translations he finds a calmer, almost neo-classical voice.

I have not mentioned an uncanny poem, "A Character," in which Snodgrass gives us a portrait "in hospital whites" of an immaculate narcissist who makes his all-white "haven some small fortress against manifest vulgarity and worldliness." The poem is

Technology and the Economic Development of the Tropical African Frontier

By Thomas R. De Gregori

This study advances the thesis that major economic and political developments in Africa can best be explained in terms of technological change. The author has produced a challenging and controversial volume that provides a sound approach to the economic history of sub-Saharan Africa and explores the region's potential for further growth. *516 pages, $12.50*

The Intellectual as Urban Reformer: Brand Whitlock and the Progressive Movement

By Jack Tager

Novelist, urban reformer in Ohio, and the United States minister to Belgium during World War I, Brand Whitlock (1869-1934) was a fascinating composite: both political idealist and man of letters. This incisive analysis of a major figure of his time does much to illuminate early-twentieth-century progressivism in America. *208 pages, $6.50*

The Press of
Case Western Reserve University
11000 Cedar Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44106

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an eerie parody, an exaggerated prophecy of Snodgrass' self-preoccupation – "he thinks the world is his scab and he picks it."

Hardly squinting at history, past or present, he is a poet of the "uncommitted regions." Passing lobsters he thought dead in a restaurant window, then seen "struggling to raise one claw like a defiant fist," Snodgrass greets the still-living creature with sympathy,

I should wave back, I guess
But still in his permanent clench
He's fallen back with the mass
Heaped in their common trench
Who stir but do not look out
Through the rainstreaking glass,
Hear what the newsboys shout,
Or see the raincoats pass.

After Experience is a mysterious song of the dispossessed.

Funny, Sad and British

by Thomas Rogers

Mr. Stoppard, best known for his play, "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead," has written a beautiful, funny novel. The action takes place in London at the time of Winston Churchill's death. The barricades are up, crowds have gathered, but in place of a nice, orderly televised funeral procession we are given an anarchic series of accidents and murders culminating in a bomb explosion. The informing idea behind the book is the by now familiar notion that there is no control left in society, or the individual. Things merely happen to us; worse, we do things we don't really mean to do – the opposite of the Churchillian view of the world. Stoppard's vivid eccentrics and his *never apologize, never explain* plot are a comment on public solemnities that are dimly perceived in the background.

Lord Malquist and Mr. Moon
by Tom Stoppard
(Knopf; $4.95)

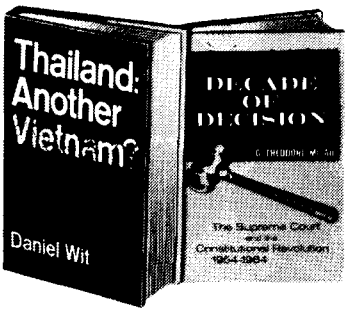
Lord Malquist hopes to find permanence and order in style. "Let it be said that I was born appalled, lived disaffected, and died in the height of fashion." Mr. Moon, more troubled by the loss of human control, carries a bomb in his pocket through most of the novel: "It needs an explosion to shock people into calling a halt." But neither style nor bombs seem to be the answer. At the end of the novel Lord Malquist's servants and wife desert him, tags are being put on his furniture, from the heights of fashion he is about to be plunged into the depths of poverty. Mr. Moon's fate is sadder. His bomb turns out to be a canister of compressed air which, when released, inflates a red balloon. The balloon bursts and "a few people, obscurely moved, began to applaud." Later, an anarchist throws a real bomb into Lord Malquist's carriage. Moon holds the bomb on his lap "obscurely comforted by the familiarity of its smooth shell" – for the few seconds before he is blown up.

Lord Malquist and Mr. Moon is a complicated kind of parody. Beginning in a Kingsley Amis vein, and having recourse to Amis' manner throughout, it also incorporates touches of Evelyn Waugh and P. G. Wodehouse, as well as that of popular fiction writers who use phrases like "she looked roguishly at him." But the parodic impulse frequently passes beyond literary models into popular states of mind, for example in a brilliant passage that plays with all the clichés of current British racism. The characters, too, seem to come from different kinds of books. There are a couple of American gunslingers who shoot it out in Trafalgar Square as the funeral cortege passes. Lord Malquist's coachman is O'Hara, who sounds Jewish but is a Catholic anti-Semite and a Negro. There is a Risen Christ with a stage Irishman's brogue, and Marie, a maid who gives corrective French lessons.

All of these styles and characters are handled with deadpan, convincing realism. As a playwright, Stoppard knows how to construct dialogue that sounds as if it could be spoken, and his plot, for all its implausibility, moves steadily

THAILAND: ANOTHER VIETNAM?
Daniel Wit

Small but critically important, Thailand may become the next "danger zone" in Southeast Asia. Daniel Wit, who spent two years with the Institute of Public Administration in Bangkok, gives a much-needed, objective analysis of both the Thai environment and its system of government. As he highlights Thailand's probable development and future role in Southeast Asia, he stresses the need for political changes to assure the country's strong and viable future. Maps, Bibliography, Index. $4.95



DECADE OF DECISION
G. Theodore Mitau

In this exceptionally interesting study, Professor Mitau discusses revolutionary decisions made by the Supreme Court between 1954 and 1964—and how the American public has reacted to, and been affected by them. He points out how reinterpretations of the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment have decisively reshaped the lives of Americans, from segregation and reapportionment to internal subversion and prayers in public schools. Illustrated, Index. $5.95

SCRIBNERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A JOB'S IN THE BAG . . . BECAUSE IT'S HAND-CRAFTED IN A MISSISSIPPI COOPERATIVE

Constructed of sturdy canvas, fully lined. Cheerfully red and blossoming with a sunflower of orange suede and felt. The generous size tote bag pictured here is 20" x 17½" ($9.95). Also available 16" x 14" ($6.50), and 11½" x 10½" ($4.50). All prices include postage and handling.

Canvas tote bags, and all other products from the Mississippi cooperatives, are available by mail order, or at LIBERTY HOUSE, 345 Bleecker St. or 2320 Broadway (corner of W. 84th St.), New York City.

Make checks payable to LIBERTY HOUSE, P. O. Box 3468, Jackson, Miss. 39203.

Name .....

Address ..... City .....

State ..... Zip .....

☐ Please send me a mail-order-catalog

Size	Quantity	Price

Total enclosed $.....

forward. Farce, intellectual fantasy, and moments of genuine feeling succeed one another without apparent incongruity. Parody, as Stoppard uses it, is a way of looking with exuberant high spirits at a potentially dismaying reality. This gives the book its importance, for there is a point at which disgust, despair and moral indignation become self-defeating. At such a point playfulness is serious and life-giving.

We Are Still Mumbling

by David T. Bazelon

We have here the extended results of a rather special seminar. It was sort of initiated by the President of the United States; it honors a neglected American Original (Arthur F. Bentley, 1870-1957), a social thinker who wrote in the 1890s *and* the 1950s; and the completed volume consists of 13 essays comprehensively devoted to Our Real Future Condition, which I take to be

A Great Society?
ed. by Bertram M. Gross
Foreword by Stephen K. Bailey
(Basic Books; $8.50)

top-drawer academic thinking *circa* 1967. The collection is chock full of the special qualities of current political thought in this country – the bitterness and anguish, strain and arrogance, brilliance and absurdity we have come to expect.

Collections of this kind are really special-issue magazines with hard covers – this is the fourth such by the editor, Bertram M. Gross, a professor of administration at Syracuse. Being a new cultural form, they are challenging, if not altogether impossible, to review. For example, there is an almost irresistible impulse to reprint the Table of Contents; having mastered this, it is necessary next to squelch the yearning to choose one Really Good and one Really Terrible contribution as being the true heart of the matter; finally, one must resist the desire to psycho-culture-analyze the editor – as if he were an opinionated chairman, and as if you had been there. The whole issue can be fudged by reviewing the volume like a *New York Times* reporter covering an idea-event; or like a poetic soul, who having descended to journalism for the money nevertheless conveys the "spirit" of the book. Sinking below all these temptations, I will first summarize the depiction of the turf, with which the book begins, then list several items of interest and give my response to them, thus mirroring in the review the form of the object itself.

The President's questions, dated three years ago, need not be presented verbatim: they raised five issues – how to achieve acceptable local control of federal programs; the collaboration of public and private institutions; fair allocation of pilot projects; recognition of individual excellence; and "the international dimensions of the Great Society." It would give away too much of the plotlessness of the book to reveal whether these questions are answered; the editor endeavors in his introductory essay to characterize them, but in his concluding piece (far superior), he announces the death of the Great Society slogan and takes as his text a slice of Sam Goldwyn's ancient cuteness – "For your information, let me ask you a question." I would suggest that the questions were used as diving boards – and not a few of the contributors simply jumped in the pool from wherever they happened to be standing.

Kenneth Boulding, assigned the subject of economics, makes a weird splash as he jumps from where he now stands – the nether regions of peacenik despair. In the Old Days, the birthmark of political writers was the Bolshevik Revolution; later it was The Bomb and now is Vietnam. Each requires an infinitely escalating *black-view* of America: indeed, each is merely an excuse for this, which is far and away the dominant unifying-emotion of our so-called intellectual life. Boulding revives the idea of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scarcity, noting correctly that economics has necessarily been the science of scarcity. The content of American GNP stinks; this country is in fact a backward area. Proper accounting would call for a reserve account against GNP for the damage of nuclear war, determined, like actuarial insurance reserves, according to the mathematical probability of the Holocaust. Yes, he does say this. But that isn't enough: he goes on to propose an alliance of the New Left and the Radical Right based on a revived Individualism asserted against the bureaucratic center – as the Only Hope of salvation. (His notion of this preceded Richard Nixon's.)

The essay by Hans Morgenthau is an impressive performance. Entitled "The International Aspects of the Great Society," his leap into the pool is deeper, the splash larger, than that title suggests. An early prime catch of the teach-in movement, Morgenthau deploys delicious logic in dispensing with President Johnson and his doings. "The Great Society, in the measure that it is 'great,' is bound to be a society radically different from that in which we live today." In a logic textbook, that would be called a self-evident truth. Social conflict, hopefully within the democratic process, may bring about a radically altered society. It will also disrupt any existing consensus, including that by which the proposer of the Great Society has governed. "The philosophy of the Great Society confuses consensus and consent of the governed." Government by consensus is therefore not only incapable of bringing about the Great Society, it is not even particularly democratic. Morgenthau makes his case against consensus very well – almost too well (as, I suppose, a logician should), in that his clarity creates confusion as one contemplates the possibility of a *center* in a democratic order. Moreover, it is history, not Johnson, that produces consensus as bogus consent: democracy, being a way of losing as well as winning, is not a "natural" system. It is history-by-the-rule.

Peter Drucker, less of a logician and even shrewder than the very shrewd Morgenthau, looks through the lense of domestic political realignment rather than American global presumption – and sees farther. "In practical politics consensus unites all who accept the accomplished facts of yesterday and excludes only the irreconcilables who still want to repeal history. . . . I doubt that this country – or any other – has ever seen greater skill or more purpose than the President exhibits when he uses the near-unanimity of the country on the problems of yesterday to advance new solutions to the problems of today." Drucker sees consensus politics as transitional, "both highly constructive and politically very dangerous": constructive because it gets the last ounce of benefit out of the old system before the latter's absolute demise, and dangerous because it postpones the building of a new system (that is, a new coalition). The old system is finished because Negro migration has achieved repeal of the Compromise of 1876, which was the basis of our peculiar three-party system in which the disciplined South ruled as balance-wheel; and also because the old economic blocs have become negative and conserving, fearing only to lose by change (they may become the new extortionists).

Drucker also sees what – shockingly to me – so few others do; that the crucial political action of the immediate future finds its closest analogy in the work of Mark Hanna after the election of 1896. The similar effort today is to organize – and most particularly as to finance – the New Class (which Drucker identifies as "the educated professional middle class"), to serve as the spearhead of the new coalitional alignment. The problem here is the Generation Shift – "the most important fact" in the world, as Drucker sees it. The youth are living witnesses of all the changes in the postwar world that many of us barely comprehend as abstractions. But they do not yet occupy the world as exclusive survivors. What should have been a magnificent cooperation is fast becoming a deadly conflict, namely, the pace of the inevitable succession of *this* generation. We of the fading generation do not *feel* the newness of the changed world as the youth do; and they are just not knowledgeable enough about the gears and knobs of this complicated world we built for them. In the absence of an intergenerational, dynamic leader, youth have invented a disruptionist role for themselves. The new order, it turns out, is easily disrupted. Still, it is a necessity, not an expensive toy to be smashed in the process of growing up.

President Johnson has not only squeezed the last drop out of the old system; he has, in doing so, demonstrated as well its final dryness. *Both* are major achievements. Understood in this way, the key issue of 1968 can be stated concisely: Does the Kennedy Group *intend* to do this job? Is it *capable* of doing it? A negative answer to either question turns political attention toward analyzing the likely course of accelerating disruption. Put these two formulations together, and the issue becomes: What level of disruption, and reaction to disruption, must be achieved before some new, more clearly intentioned and powerful group takes on the required work? If the disruption, or the reaction to it, goes far enough, an unheard-of minority rule will be inevitable. In a word, the new majority is unorganized and unled, the historical center crumbles, the situation is "pre-fascist."

As I mentioned, it is nearly impos-

I REQUIRE . . .

a "dating service" that

- ☐ has outgrown pop prattle about the "swinging scene" (ages 21 to 65)
- ☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other)
- ☐ has penetrated bigtown anonymity to dare deal only with its more cultivated, intelligent, literary community (48% through personal referrals)
- ☐ offers exclusive, expensive, exhaustive, individual processing by trained consultants

☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE

MIND MATES
Bureau for Interpersonal Relations
509 Fifth Ave., New York, New York 10017
MU 2-3757

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 120 W. 31 St., New York, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sible to review a collection and be fair and comprehensive. For example, I spoke unpleasantly of Kenneth Boulding's piece, rather than discoursing on the sociological obviousness of Professor Robin M. Williams, Jr., who, for those at a loss, tells readers how to think about the world (and get nowhere a Ph.D. can't take you). Being struck by some remarks of Drucker's, I haven't got to the best essay in the volume, "Local and Private Initiative in the Great Society," by one of our most excellent and charming social thinkers, Norton E. Long. Science and administration are major matters, Don K. Price's comments on which must always be afforded attention. I gave him none. The contribution of Daniel Bell is provocative, informative, and well-done. Herbert Marcuse is irritating on a high level; his reference to the "restoration of nature" as a social project, for example, invites extended discussion (a park is not exactly nature in any full sense: trees and grass can be planted without restoring "nature"). There is a very graceful essay by Frank E. Manuel, a classicist kind of historian; and even a blueprint for decision-making in the culture business by Alvin Toffler. The editor's concluding essay, although a bit too much of an appeal to the throne, is an excellent checklist or characterizing agenda of forward-looking American problems.

What holds the collection together, besides the energy and industry of the editor? It is the mood of the politicalized academy, and the almost ferociously future-focused thought. The future is our new religion, and political thought is the road to it *and* to our individual salvation – now. This has to be, but the danger has also to be acknowledged, the danger in any religion: that thought will be sacrificed to an artificial and coerced community of the mind. Priests are most disgusting, I suppose (certainly they are most ridiculous), when coming to the defense of church property in a stable order. They are most dangerous, however, when the theology they administer is itself a major fact of active, creative power. The current academic priests of the New Class have the power of defining the future, and of training the people who will devise and administer the plans comprising it. The issue? Will they devote themselves more to the preservation of the moral and rational purity of their community-building image of the future, than to the actual, extended, historical, human achievement of it? Hopefully, the question remains open.

The characteristic and recurring phrases of this strangely compelling collection are: "the politics of affluence," "the quality of life," and "post-industrial society"; in effect, the problems of the beyond-economics world of the future. But the typically recurring word is a variant of "meaning" used as an adjective, as in "The youth must be afforded more *meaningful* activity," etc. For my part, I will have to be dragged into a *meaningful* world. Until the cheer-leaders and cruise-directors of our voyage into the future can thoughtfully specify what a "meaningful" anything means, I will continue where I am, in my ordinary agony of the past, the present and the future.

"It is critically important for us to know whether violence is essential... or whether there are effective alternatives."

ABE FORTAS
Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court

CONCERNING DISSENT AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

A SIGNET SPECIAL BROADSIDE
Also in hardcover $4.00

50¢

CORRESPONDENCE

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

US Tax Structure

Sirs:

I hate to quarrel with T.R.B. whose weekly column is a joy to read, but my favorite columnist does keep repeating one assertion that I question – namely, that the US compared to other nations is undertaxed, the unstated corollary to this being that we could end poverty by simply boosting existing rates.

I question the assumption on two grounds: first, the federal tax system is only part of an inequitable and increasingly confiscatory tax structure; second, we do less for our people in vital areas (a national health program and care for the aged, for example) than almost any other industrialized country in the world.

As for the first point, our tax system is a horrendous hodge-podge that bears most heavily on those least able to pay. And the federal tax rates, riddled with loopholes for the benefit of millionaires, are only one part of the injustice. The second part deals with the distribution of these tax revenues, the purposes to which they are put – and since these purposes have been for years now at least two-thirds military (and sometimes more than that) only a relatively small part of the enormous federal revenue is devoted to meeting the needs of the nation's people. As a result, an additional and disproportionate share of the nation's problems has to be borne by state and local taxation, pyramided on top of the federal tax base.

What happens is instructive. Governor Richard J. Hughes' commission that studied last summer's Newark riots reported that property taxation in Newark is now "virtually confiscatory." It reported that the annual tax on an $18,000 home (no palace by today's property standards) came to nearly $1,400 a year. It is common in the suburbs of New York for an ordi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nary seven- or eight-room split-level, set on a modest lot, to be carrying a tax burden of well over $1,000 a year. This is a tax that bears most heavily on working and middle-class families trying to provide adequate homes for their children.

But that is not all. On top of such taxes, we have pyramided a structure that goes like this: state sales taxes, state income taxes, city sales taxes and city income taxes (New York City is a prime example of this onerous tax structure). The result is that the working and middle classes are being well bled by our various tax collectors.

And they get less in return than the citizens of many other nations. In researching a book on hospital care a few years ago, I was shocked to find that virtually every other industrialized country makes more adequate provision for health care (and especially for maternity care) than we do. Medicare is only a partial answer to the problem – partial and inadequate, as anyone finds who has an impecunious and invalided mother who has quickly exhausted the guaranteed weeks of nursing home care.

There is, of course, under-taxation in this nation – the kind of under-taxation and inequity that permits great oil companies and persons with *incomes* of several million dollars a year to escape paying any taxes at all. The result is, as the *Fortune* magazine survey of the rich recently demonstrated, that you do not now qualify for listing among the elite unless you have a fortune of at least $100 million; a piddling $50 million no longer rates. What we are seeing is not a society that, as a whole, is grossly undertaxed, but a society that is inequitably taxed – and so is becoming increasingly polarized. This polarization is not alone that of race, but equally a polarization of the extremes of the haves and have-nots – the jet-set ranging the world in pursuit of pleasure on the one hand, the occupants of Resurrection City and slums and rural hovels of America on the other.

We need a revision of the tax structure along the lines of equity and conscience and a radical reassignment of priorities for the uses of tax revenue.

Fred J. Cook
Interlaken, N.J.

More on Nixon

Sirs:

Robert H. Bork's *Why I Am for Nixon* (June 1) was so much in the Nixon manner that I seriously doubt the identity of "Bork." Who but Nixon would try to set "liberals" at ease by opening with a bookish reference to S. V. Benet? And what a reference! "I would guess that no advocate has faced a less promising jury since Daniel Webster represented Jabez Stone." Well, thanks. That was a jury of notorious criminals the Devil called up out of Hell to judge Stone. Otherwise the comparison is apt: Stone had, after all, sold his soul to the Devil, then welshed on the deal.

Bork damned "liberals" for raising the Negro's hopes so high, but he also raised – then dashed – my hopes that Nixon had his own plan for urban renewal (what was good about it wasn't Nixon's) and a much needed substitute for welfare (not a guaranteed annual wage – or a guaranteed anything). Coming before the Negro and sincerely insisting that he won't promise him anything seems to be the only original Nixon solution to urban chaos. I can just imagine the relief that would give. Nor do I see how Mr. Bork can seriously consider a sapling like Nixon presidential timber when, in four pages, he cannot make one reference to his swaying stand on Vietnam, the most divisive issue this nation has ever faced.

Harris Green
New York, N.Y.

Kauffmann, *from page 26*

ends almost as melodramatic parody.

An upper-middle-class family in a north Italian villa. Winter. (It's not always bleak in northern Italy, but no young intellectual Italian director wants any suggestion of *O Sole Mio* in his work.) Mother, a widow, is fiftyish and blind. Four grown children: a lawyer (betrothed), an idle lovely girl, an epileptic son, and a demented son. The epileptic decides that, to free the eldest son, he will do away with all the others, including himself. A car crash on a particular trip would settle it, but he loses his nerve at the wholesale job and goes to work piecemeal. Subsequently he pushes Ma off a cliff and holds the loony under his bathwater. When Sis discovers this (after a spot of incest between her and the epileptic), she is shocked into a backward fall downstairs, cracks her spine, and is paralyzed. It all ends with the sister bedridden, helpless to aid the epileptic in the next room who is writhing on the floor while a phonograph blares *La Traviata*. Violetta's penultimate note in Act One is prolonged on the sound track to finish the film with a scream.

This synopsis does Bellocchio no injustice because what starts as Italianate Faulkner is soon so contrived in its dooms that it becomes a long gallery of grotesques, without much relation to us or to the demons in contemporary society. *China Is Near*, despite its dogged Godard imitations, is a much more relevant work. *Fist in His Pocket*, made a year earlier (1966), seems an overreaction to the sugar candy of most films. You can almost hear Bellocchio swearing to revenge himself for all the movie floss he had been forced to endure in his twenty-six years.

Yet it is finely executed. Three actors especially deserve mention. Lou Castel, the epileptic, is more than credible in perversity. Marino Masé, the oldest son, has strength and depth. The daughter, Paola Pitagora, is not only a good actress, she has one of the loveliest Italian faces on film record.

Notes on Contributors

John Osborn *is a reporter based in Washington.* Clarence Brown *is a professor at Princeton University.* Donald Kaplan *is a New York psychoanalyst.* Stanley Moss *is poetry editor of* New American Review. Thomas Rogers *is the author of* The Pursuit of Happiness. David T. Bazelon *is the author of* The Paper Economy *and* Power in America: The Politics of the New Class.

AUTHORS OF BOOKS
Manuscripts invited for our consideration. All subjects. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry. New authors welcome. Complete book publishing services since 1920.
Send for free brochure H-52. ▶
DORRANCE & COMPANY, INC.
1809 Callowhill St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19130
to be published by DORRANCE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSONALS

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHTING MANUAL. Make your own strobes, light-machines, color organs, etc. with easy instructions and diagrams. Send $2.00 to Lightrays, 713 K Pine, Phila., Pa. 19106.

IF YOU BELONG TO THAT NEGLECTED AGE GROUP, 40-60, and if you live in the NYC area, and if you are occasionally lonesome and would enjoy intelligent stimulating companionship, write to TWOgether Associates, Dept. NR, 38 East 57 St., New York City.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 8-6, 79 Wall Street, NYC.

"FOUR WILL FORMS" and Lawyer's Guide to Wills. $1.00 complete. National Forms. Box 48313-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90048.

INVEST INTERGRATED HOUSING. Prospectus tells all. Free copy: Write Morris Milgram, Dept. NRC, Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust, 30 E. 42nd St., NYC 10017.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 566N, Ojai, California 93023.

OPINIONS WANTED for new newsletter. Politics to pop music. Latest issue, 25c. INTERCOM, Box 1822, Erie, Pa. 16507.

FOREIGN PAPERBACKS. Free lists. BOOKS, P.O. Box 767N, San Leandro, California 94577.

PEACE REQUIRES ESPERANTO: text, record loaned FREE. Esperanto Library, Dept. NR, Middleton, Wis. 53562.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY CAMPUS: unique lecture notes. Hundreds of courses, taken directly in class by professionals from world-famous teachers. $1-$4. Send for free catalog. Fybate Lecture Notes, Dept. R, 2440 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT MOST? Sample dozen clippings about your favorite subject, $1.00. Research Clip Service, Box 1665, Hyattsville, Md. 20788.

FED UP WITH the malarkey in your daily "newspaper?" Send for information. Rolizan, 434 East High, Lexington, Kentucky 40508.

HARPSICHORDS Same as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA Victor. In kit form for home workshop assembly $150. Clavichord kit $100. Free brochure. Write: Zuckermann Harpsichords, Dept. P, 115 Christopher St., N.Y.C. 10014.

SILENCE TV COMMERCIALS. "Do-it-yourself" instructions 25c; complete kit $2.00. THE SILENCER, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley, Cal. 94701.

KING-SIZE BUMPERSTRIPS - "RFK in '68," "McCarthy in '68," "Reagan & Lassie in '68," "Melt General Hershey," "Studying Causes Cancer"; 2/$1, 5/$2, 15/$5. TOPP, P.O. Box 1802, Chicago, Ill. 60690.

COMPUTER DATING SERVICE for single adults. Send for free brochure. COMPUTADATE, P.O. Box 20-N, Peabody, Mass. 01960.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. No computers used. For FREE analytical questionnaire write: OPERATION MAZELTOV, 550 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10036.

"PROTEST WITH DISTINCTION"; Controversial underground bumper stickers. Free list: Dealers inquire. SNICKER STICKERS, Box 4243, Hollywood, Florida 33023.

THERE IS A RADICAL BUTTON MAKER! All sizes, shapes, colors. Free estimates. 25c brings price lists and samples. Larry Fox, Box 581-N, Hempstead, N. Y. 11551.

BUTTONS, PEACE JEWELRY, POSTCARDS, POSTERS, psychedelia, etc. Off beat merchandise. Wholesale to all. 10c brings our unique catalogue air mail. FREE SPEECH INC., 28 St. Marks Place., NYC 10003.

HOW TO BE THE PERSON YOU WANT TO BE! Overcome personality probems, insomnia, overweight, etc. Free literature. SELF-REALIZATION CENTER, Box 393-C, N.Y. 10003.

FOR EVERYONE who cares about good government: "THE REAL RONALD REAGAN." Send $1.00: Reagan Book, Box B, Diamond Heights Station, San Francisco, Calif. 94131.

AUTOMOBILE BUMPER STICKERS, Custom-made, low-cost advertising for Organizations, Special Events, Political Campaigns, Slogans School Projects, Business, Theatrical Productions, Tourist Attractions, Motels, Resorts, and Drive-Ins. Write for Free Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please State Intended Use. Reflective Advertising, Inc., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132.

"ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS;" Abolish Slavery: Abolish Conscription; Age 18 Vote. Bumperstickers, 1/25c; 10/$1; 100/$5. Legalize Liberty, POB 36061, Los Angeles, Calif. 90036.

WHO NEEDS IT? Independent study? Personal freedom? A chance to help make a new kind of college work? If you need it, write Admissions NR, Franconia College, Franconia, N. H. 03580.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities. Includes "Directory of American Companies Overseas," and special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send $1.50, plus 50¢ postage/handling. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, N.Y. 11730.

CHANGING ADDRESS? Vacationing? Send both old and new addresses to: The New Republic, 381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Include your mailing label if possible. Allow four weeks to change.

FOR THE formerly married with minimum BA/BS degree. Private club in Manhattan, by invitation. Box 505, Olde Chelsea, New York City, 11.

HELP PLAN UTOPIA. Third Annual Convention, Illinois University, August 16-18. Alan Harrod, 5403 Woodlawn, Chicago, 60615.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

PHYSICIANS! SCIENTISTS! ENGINEERS! We invite all concerned citizens to join us in support of Senator Eugene McCarthy for President. Your contribution and your participation are urgently needed. Contributors of $10.00 or more will receive 2 "Scientists and Engineers for McCarthy" bumper stickers. Scientists and Engineers for McCarthy, National Headquarters, 827 No. Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

BUMPER STICKERS: "KENNEDY" or "NIX-on NIXON." Choice of 2/$1.00. Usen Enterprises, Box 3471, Glendale, California 91201.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will Forms and attorney's informative book, $1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1967 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

LITERATURE

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS - All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

SOCIALIST BOOKS - Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

"DADDY, WHAT'S A RIOT"—Buy two, one for friends to steal. Send $1.00 to Gadfly Press, 5225 Cornelius, Indianapolis, Indiana.

MODERN LEADER examines How to Christianize world. Introductory letter—Art and Revolution—$1.00. Portable Playhouse, Dept. ML, P. O. Box 5922, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

HAVE YOU READ Robert Harmon's "The Uncorrupted"? Personal narrative based on the nation's capital. Paperback, $1.50 postpaid. National Book Company, Box 18036, Washington, D. C. 20021.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EMPLOYMENT

DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHER working in mountains seeks photo assignments in eastern Kentucky. Write: J. Martin, Hyden, Ky. 41749.

GENERAL RESEARCH ASSIGNMENTS conducted by research specialist. Quick, accurate, reliable. Moderate rates. Lawrence Sork Jr., 239 South Bristol, Los Angeles, Calif. 90049.

AUSTRALIA. A New Life Beckoning Americans. Government Shares Fare. The Information You Require $1.00. Pacifico, Box 43485-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90043.

WANTED: Manager for ghetto bookstore now being planned. Management experience necessary. Imaginative readiness to respond to community needs. Write David Harre, Alley Library, 1831 Kalorama Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. (202) 483-9458.

HARLEM: teach public school, write curriculum, doctoral study. $8,000 plus tuition. Call or write: Peter Dublin, 14 Sylvan Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.

TEACHING OPPORTUNITIES – Teachers, all subjects and levels; administrators; department heads, housemothers, nurses, etc.; private schools, all states, beginners, experienced; initial details without obligation; confidential. School Service Bureau, Box 2780, Windsor, Connecticut.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government assisted passage. Unlimited opportunities. Latest Government Information and Forms. $1.00. Austco, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach, California 90802.

DISILLUSIONED WITH ESTABLISHMENT. Female political science BA seeks work for social justice. Box 3040, New Republic.

LIBERAL EDUCATION, 23, B.A., M.A.T., seeks social studies position, public or private school, east coast. Box 3045, New Republic.

SCHOOLS AND CAMPS

WORLD FELLOWSHIP CENTER, Conway, N.H. For a rare combination of recreation, dialogue and conferences on international and domestic problems.

ARTHUR MORGAN SCHOOL, Burnsville 2, N.C. Grades 7, 8 and 9. Co-educational, informal, non-competitive. Work-study program. Liberal Quaker leadership.

VACATIONS/TRAVEL

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE – $1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-20JAV, Bell, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.

NO HECTIC "ORGANIZED" ACTIVITIES; Children's Haven, Erudite Clientele, Informal Family Vacations. Lake Shore Resort, Northwood, N. H.

SWISS RESORT: AAA, Nature, Peace, Beauty, Modern comfort; sports; Swiss cuisine; excellent library. Snowvillage Lodge, Snowville, N.H. 03877. Tel. Conway 603 – 447-2818.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

CANOE TRIPS OUTFITTED. Everything furnished, $7.50 daily. Beautiful wilderness country. Free information: Border Lakes (NR), Box 569, Ely, Minnesota 55731.

NATURAL SEACOAST CAMPING – Mile of beautiful shoreline 3 hours from Boston in historic area near Audubon Sanctuary – warm swimming, hiking, birding, fishing – 70 roomy campsites for tents / trailers (no hookups). RECOMPENSE CAMPSITES, Burnett Road, Freeport, Maine 04032.

PUBLIC FRAZZLE? – Tired of campsite exhaust fumes? radios? air mattresses? washing dishes? Try BACK LOG CAMP in the Adirondacks. No roads, no electricity. Come by water – sleep on good beds in large airy tents – eat fresh food served family style. One to three day guided canoe and hiking trips offered. Cultured company. All ages. Brochure. Mrs. H. J. Cadbury, Haverford, Pa.

DRIVE TO MEXICO. You'll need special Mexican auto insurance. When you buy your coverage from Sanborn's, you get a big free bonus – Dan Sanborn's famous mile-by-mile road direction "logs" to follow your very own itinerary, plus latest info on highways and accommodations. Write for free "Trip Planner" packet – very helpful. SANBORN'S, McAllen, Texas 78501.

PROPERTY – Sale/Rent

RENT: Furnished cottage by week or month for July near Pico-Killington Mts. Write: Tall Timber, Box 461, Rutland, Vt. 05701.

FOR RENT IN WASHINGTON – Dynamic, integrated area – Handsome, ten-room town house with basement, yard, parquet floors, modern kitchen, washer-dryer. $225. Box 3030, New Republic, or call (202) 387-0426.

Live in "MAIN STREET" atmosphere of Sauk Centre, Minnesota. I will trade homes or lease for the next school year. The house has 3½ Bd. Rms., 2 baths, Victorian front porch, and beautiful grounds. Fully furnished, all appliances; near lakes, boat, motor and camping equipment included. I want to live in East: N. Jersey, N. Y., Conn., or ?. Write Bob Hanson - 206 Maple St. - Sauk Centre, Minnesota, or call 612 – 352-2335.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

NAVAJO RUGS, large, choice, excellent condition, $75/$500; Walter, 209 58th St., N.W., Albuquerque, N. M. 87105.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fibre handbags—leather trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear. (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R. Cuenca, Equador.

ORIGINAL LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Send 50c for illustrated catalogue. George N. Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

DALI, JACQUES VILLON, MIRO, CHAGALL: Illustrated brochure: Lithographs, etchings, 50c. Atlas Arts, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017.

MUSIC

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

ENJOY HUMOR, MUSIC, SATIRE? All three perceptively combined in recent West Coast FM program series. Rare opportunity to obtain the hour program, most relevant this election year, entitled: "SOME NOTES (mostly musical) ON AMERICAN POLITICAL HYSTERI(A). From the Boston Tea Party to Adlai Stevenson with song quality no more uneven than our elected officials (Samuel J. Tilden's campaign song is a catastrophe of classic proportions)." Special introductory offer: $4.95 for broadcast quality tape plus list of other programs. Mensana, P. O. Box 10355 (R), Alexandria, Virginia 22310.

YOUR BACH becomes alive on a Sabathil harpsichord, Vancouver, Canada.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 25c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....23c
Per word 12 times in one contract year.....22c
Per word 24 times in one contract year.....20c
Per word 48 times in one contract year.....18c
Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed By The McCall Printing Co.
Mid-Atlantic Division

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oxford

Class, Race, and Labor

WORKING-CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN DETROIT

By JOHN C. LEGGETT. "A stunning interpretation of not only contemporary race relations between America's black and white but also the relevance of class consciousness in the light of shifting economic conditions now taking hold within American society. . . . He accomplishes what few have achieved: a comprehensible explanation of class consciousness for probing what increasingly appears to be emerging throughout the nation, namely, insurrections." – SIDNEY M. WILLHELM, State University of New York at Buffalo $7.50

Disordered Behavior

BASIC CONCEPTS IN CLINICAL PSYCHIATRY

By ERIC PFEIFFER, M.D. This concise, thoroughly up-to-date guide to the major syndromes of psychic disturbance is written for the intelligent lay reader as well as for students of medicine, psychology, and social work. Viewing man as an organismic whole, it describes the most commonly observed patterns of disordered behavior, psychotic and neurotic, and the most effective treatments for each. $5.75

Origins of the Fifth Amendment

By LEONARD W. LEVY. "A learned and illuminating investigation of the privilege of self-incrimination, its origins, and its enforcement. Professor Levy's study is not only a significant contribution to legal history, but has a striking relevance to contemporary legal problems. It should be *must* reading for all those concerned with the enforcement of due process."
– RICHARD B. MORRIS, Columbia University $12.50

Population in Perspective

Edited by LOUISE B. YOUNG. "This is an important book, representing the best thinking on the most important of all the problems that face mankind. . . . It is for that reason that a book such as this should be required reading, for it shows that it is not quantity that should characterize the human species but quality." – M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU. *Line illustrations, 12 halftones.* $10.00

Government and Revolution in Vietnam

By DENNIS J. DUNCANSON. "By far the best analysis that has yet appeared of the Vietnamese problem." – *The Times Literary Supplement.* "Scholarly and fascinating presentation of an elusive subject matter. . . . an intensely instructive and gripping narrative." – ROBERT D. MURPHY, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs $9.50

Black Power and White Protestants

A CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO THE NEW NEGRO PLURALISM

By JOSEPH C. HOUGH, JR. "It is a badly needed book, such the confusion and bias and hypocrisy among our religious folk. Hough gets it all in, dirty underclothes and all. . . . Serves equally well as a survey, a history, a guide to action, or a confessional." – W. H. FERRY, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
Cloth, $5.75. *A Galaxy Book,* GB 242, *paper,* $1.75

New, in the
LATIN AMERICAN HISTORIES *series*

Mexico

THE STRUGGLE FOR MODERNITY

By CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND. The whole story of Mexico's journey from Aztec times to the present unfolds in this one-volume history that supplants every book in English on the history of Mexico. Professor Cumberland concentrates upon dominant social, economic, and cultural trends, relating these to political events, and in particular to the Mexican Revolution. *Maps, tables.*
Cloth, $7.50. *A Galaxy Book,* GB 244, *paper,* $2.50

Brazil

THE LAND AND PEOPLE

By ROLLIE E. POPPINO. "I have read Dr. Poppino's book with a great deal of interest and profit. It is clearly written and informative. General readers as well as students should find it useful." – BAILEY W. DIFFIE, City College of the City University of New York $7.50

At all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED